

Studies in the Prose Style
of the Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian
Homily Books

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Abstract of Thesis

The importance of the Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian Homily Books as the earliest monuments of continuous prose in Old West Norse has long been recognized, but to date the style of the homilies has only been given cursory treatment in short articles or general literary histories and has not been the subject of a special study. In my dissertation I have examined various aspects of Old West Norse homiletic prose style in an effort to show how the early homilists were able to take advantage of a Latin literary tradition to enhance the resources of their own language.

The first chapter is a general discussion of rhetorical and "narrative" techniques in the Homily Books. Here those traits normally associated with Icelandic prose written in the so-called "popular style" are compared with stylistic features developed in imitation of Latin models.

The second and third chapters of the thesis deal with native proverbs and learned sententiae in the homilies, with special reference to the use of the phrases at fagrt mæla ok flátt hyggja and at bera dust í vindi.

Chapter four is devoted to a discussion of metaphorical compounds. Commonplace metaphors and similitudes used in the homilies are set against their Latin background and compared with analogous figures in later Old West Norse religious literature.

The next two sections are semantic studies -- chapter five, of the special use of sjóða in the sense "to ponder" in an Easter sermon in the Old Norwegian Homily Book, and chapter six, of the cryptic phrase væl ma min sál a bita gras með aðrum sálom found in a sermon on Judgement Day included in the same collection.

The final chapter is an investigation of source-material for the sermon Postola mál in the Old Icelandic Homily Book. This piece illustrates the eclectic method of sermon-construction characteristic of most of the "original" compositions in the Homily Books.

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Chapter one:

Some Aspects of Native and Latin
Rhetoric in the Homilies.

The OWN sermons are frequently praised for their lucid and idiomatic prose which, scholars have been quick to observe, can more readily be compared with the terse, homespun narrative of the Icelandic Family Sagas than with the latinate diction of many later works of devotional literature in Old West Norse. Finnur Jónsson, for example, describes the homilies in Sthom. as:

...i reglen fortrinlig oversatte; sproget er kraftigt og de er lagt an på tydelighed, idet der ofte bruges ord og billeder fra tilhørernes eget forstands-område.¹

Similarly, Trygve Knudsen notes that the style of both Homily Books:

...er gjennomgående enkel og verdig, nøkternt innprentende og belærende, med et overveiende hjemlig preg, også der hvor fremmed tekst er påvist som første kilde. Egenheter fra lat. syntaks ... er alt i alt få og makter ikke å påtrykke sprogføringen noe helhetspreg av "lærd" stil.²

Fredrik Paasche characterizes the prose of Sthom. in particular as "concise, forcible, earnest" and "homely".³ And Karel Vrátný admires "die kräftige, echt islandische Sprache" in both the translated pieces and the original compositions in the same collection:

...Wohl ist die Sprache fast überall fliessend, weit entfernt von dem späteren "gelehrten Stil", und mutet den Leser recht heimisch an, so dass man auch bei den übersetzten Stücken beinahe ihren lateinischen Ursprung vergisst; aber in einigen Reden erinnert sie auffallend an die Sprache der besten isländischen Sagas.⁴

The presence in the homilies and other early clerical prose works of stylistic features reminiscent of the vigorous narrative of the Family Sagas has, in fact, encouraged some scholars to look for evidence of direct influence from an oral narrative tradition on twelfth-century Icelandic prose. Jan de Vries, for instance, has suggested that in the lively account of the death of John the Baptist in the sermon for his feast day in Sthom. one can see "ein Einbruch der geläufigen mündlichen

Erzählweise in das kirchliche Schrifttum".⁵ And in two recent articles,⁶ Dietrich Hofmann has discussed two further examples from twelfth-century texts of passages in which the translators adopt "die Darstellungsweise der Sagakunst" in preference to the narrative method of their Latin models. Hofmann takes his first example from the Old Icelandic rendering of the A-version of the Gospel of Nicodemus; his second text is a translation of Matthew 2:7-8 from the pericope of the Epiphany homily "Apparicio domini" in Sthom. He observes that the salient stylistic features of these passages -- vacillation between past and present tenses, sudden switches from indirect to direct speech, asyndetic Satzanreihung without repetition of subject -- "hat ihre nächste Entsprechung im Sagastil":⁷

Niðrstignings saga, HMS II,
2/8-10:

Þá kom þar at gangandi maðr sa er þeir kendo eigi, sa maðr var gørvilegr oc a þann veg buenn, sem af eyðimorc vøre comenn. Þeir spurðu þann mann at namni, eða hvat hann cynni nyt at segia. Hann lez Johanne heita ["] oc vasc roð callandi a aþimorc oc fyrerrennere sunar guðs a iarþriki...["]

Sthom. 57/8-12:

...þa heimte herodes konungana til máls við sik a laún. grefr at sípan vaNdvirclaga hue nær þeir sę stiorona. Sende þa sípan til beþlems borgar. þa þa vandlega fréta at sveinenom. ["]En ef er fiNep hann. þa segeþer mér. oc vil ec fiNa hann oc gaofga hann. ["]⁸

Evangelium Nicodemi, pars II, ed.
C. de Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocrypha [1876, rpt. 1966], 392/19 - 393/1:

Et posthæc supervenit quasi heremicola, et interrogatur ab omnibus: Quis es tu? Quibus respondens dixit: Ego sum Iohannes, vox et propheta altissimi, præviis ante faciem adventus eius præparare vias eius...

Matt. 2:7-8:

Tunc Herodes clam vocatis magis diligenter didicit ab eis tempus stellæ, quæ apparuit eis, et mittens illos in Bethleem dixit, "Ite et interrogate diligenter de puero, et cum inveneritis, renuntiatis mihi, ut et ego veniens adorem eum.

Hofmann rightly argues that the obvious differences between these OWN texts and their Latin exemplars indicate that the translators clearly had their own, independent stylistic aims and ideals;⁹ but, like de Vries, he insists that in these examples we are not presented with "ein primär literarisches Phänomen, die Anwendung eines eigens in der gelehrt-geistlichen Schriftekultur entwickelten Stils", but with "eine Anpassung an die allen Isländern aus mündlichem Gebrauch vertraute Erzählweise".¹⁰

In rebuttal, Klaus von See has pointed out that some of the stylistic devices which Hofmann associates with "saga-style" (unheralded transitions from oratio obliqua to oratio recta in particular) are also widely attested in other European literatures, often in texts far removed from an oral tradition.¹¹ And he argues that prose passages like those cited by Hofmann should be taken, on the contrary, "als Indiz dafür...daß diese Züge des Sagastils aus der gelehrt-geistlichen Schriftekultur stammen".¹²

It would be unwise to pursue here the history of the complicated and apparently endless debate between the proponents of the so-called "free prose" and "book prose" theories of the origins of Icelandic saga-literature.¹³ It is worth noting, however, that Hofmann's use of an isolated example from the Sthom. Epiphany sermon shows how an overenthusiastic search for "die Einfluß des Sagastils"¹⁴ can colour assessments of early Icelandic prose. For in concentrating on a single narrative passage in the sermon, Hofmann of necessity ignores less "popular" features which are also part of the stylistic make-up of the text.

The sermon is, in fact, a fairly close rendering of most of Gregory's tenth gospel homily, "in die Epiphaniae";¹⁵ and one could as easily extract from it passages illustrating Latin influence on Old Icelandic prose. Hofmann's excerpt can be contrasted, for instance, with the following passage from the opening section of the sermon proper:

Sthom. 57/26 - 58/2:

...En þess er oss leitaNda. hvat
helzt se þat er engell vitraþesc
a gyþingalande féhirþom at þornum
lausnera orom. en stiarna en eige
engell leidde víseNda meN or austr-
vege at gæfga hann... þuiat
gyþingom voro spár gefnar svasem
trvlegom en heiþnom monnom tócn
svasem ótrúm. En merkianða er oss
at postolar kendo þeim enom sþomom
heiþnom þiópom lausnera várn þa er
hann var algors aldrs oc þaN eN
lítla svein oc eige eN melaNda
fyr aldrs sakar boþaþe stella
heiþnom þiópom. þat beidde hóttr
skynsemennar. at melaNda drotteN
kyNde oss melaNde keNerar. en
meþan hann var mál lauss at líkams
aldre þa boþoþo hann dumbar
hofopskepnar.

Gr. 10 in Ev., PL 76, 1110C-1111A:

...Sed quærendum nobis est quidnam
sit quod, Redemptore nato, pastoribus
in Judæa angelus apparuit, atque ad
adorandum hunc ab Oriente magos non
angelus, sed stella perduxit?...quia
et illis prophetiæ tanquam fidelibus
non infidelibus; et istis signa tan-
quam infidelibus, non fidelibus data
sunt. Et notandum quod Redemptorem
nostrum, cum jam perfectæ esset
ætatis, eisdem gentilibus apostoli
prædicant, eumque parvulum, et necdum
per humani corporis officium loquen-
tem, stella gentibus denuntiat, quia
nimirum rationis ordo poscebat ut et
loquentem jam Dominum loquentes nobis
prædicatores innotescerent, et necdum
loquentem elementa muta prædicarent.

The passage abounds in calks of Latin phrases (cf. the descriptive genitive algors aldrs¹⁶ for perfectæ ætatis, and the close rendering of the periphrasis rationis ordo poscebat -- þat beidde hóttr skynsemennar); and although not all of the participial constructions in the passage need be regarded as features of lærd stíl,¹⁷ most are clearly prompted by Gregory's Latin (cf. in particular the phrase melaNda drotteN kyNde oss melaNde keNerar for loquentem ... Dominum loquentes nobis prædicatores innotes-
cerent). The substantive use of adjectives (trvlegom = fidelibus; ótrúm = infidelibus) is also a "learned" syntactical feature.¹⁸ Further latinate stylistic traits are found throughout the homily. The translator retains many of Gregory's metaphorical phrases (Sthom. 58/14-15 kliúfasc til iþronar = PL 76, 1111B scindi ad penitentiam; 59/20 biartleícr yver-

legrar specþar = 1113B claritas supernæ sapientiæ; 60/3-4 hugskoz augo = 1114A oculi cordis), and an exegetical interpolation in the pericope (for which Gregory's text offers no parallel) contains two latinate metaphorical compounds (57/14-15 liðs trúnar, liðs miscuNar).¹⁹ The Icelandic homilist also imitates, on occasion, phrases characteristic of Latin Nominalstil (cf. 58/16 til auka fyrðømingar siNar = 1111B ad damnationis suæ cumulum; 59/18-19 ðaubleifr holzens = 1113B carnis nostræ mortificatio),²⁰ although, on the whole, he takes care to excise the more cumbersome nominal phrases in his source (cf. 59/26-27 i saurlífeno = 1113C in fetore luxuriæ; 59/28 fyr bindende = 1113C per condimentum continentia; 60/4 ögn dóma dags = 1114A judicium extremæ districtionis; 60/9 blecne = 1114A voluptatum fallacia; 60/19 skírn = 1114B baptismatis perceptio).²¹ The judiciousness of the Icelandic translator's method is evident in a passage in which he at once trims away two unwieldy turns of phrase and retains an isocolon he admires in Gregory's text:

58/21-22:	1111B:
...siálfr frolleífr þeira. yrþe	...eorum scientia et
<u>þeim til fyrðømingar</u>	<u>illis fieret ad testimonium damnationis,</u>
<u>en oss til tønabæ</u>	<u>et nobis ad adiutorium credulitatis.</u>

At any rate, it is clear that while this homilist carefully exploits the resources of his own language, his imitation of features from his Latin model is equally deliberate.²²

It is not really surprising that Hofmann's example of "saga narrative" in "Apparicio Domini" should be taken from the pericope, since the scriptural text naturally offers more scope for the use of genuine "narrative" techniques than does the sermon itself. In fact, it is interesting to note that the translation of the same gospel passage in the second homily for Epiphany in Nhom.,²³ though quite independent of the version in Sthom., also contains a sudden switch from indirect into direct

speech (Nhom. 62/2-9 = Matt. 2:7-8):

...En síðan callaðe hann konunga løyðilega til sín. ok spurði þá át vandlega á hverri tíð þeir sá stíornuna þá er þeir sögðu í fra. En síðan bauð hann þeim at fara til Bethleem. ok mætte sva við þá. at þeir scyldu vandlega spyrja burðar-tíð svæins-enns. ["] En síðan er þer finnið hann. þá fare þer aptr hingat ok segið mér hvar hann er. því at ec vil oc þengat fara oc biðia fyrir mér. ["] ok háðde at í hug sér.²⁴

Indeed many of the paraphrases of scriptural passages found in the Homily Books are remarkable for their popular tone. The following expansive rendering of Luke 1: 34-36, for instance, (from an Annunciation homily in Sthom.), is adorned with many "homely" stylistic features -- change of tense, unheralded modulation into direct speech, colloquial turns of phrase, litotes and an alliterative tag:

Sthom. 139/3-22:

...En þá es gabriel hafði sagt þessi stórtíþeNdi mario. þá svarar hon. oc spurði hvesso þat métti verða at hon yrði hafandi at barni. þars hon hafði óngo víp carlmaN skipt...En engilliN sagði oc brosti at. at eige þyrfti hon at uGa at hreinlifet hennar myNde fyr farasc víp þaN getnoþ. heldr myNdi helgasc mioc. oc fyr þu at eige mon síá getnoþr a þaNig sem verallðar venia es til mepal carla oc qveNa.

["] heldr mun guþs craptr oc heilagr andi coma til at vitia þín. oc munþu af honom oc barns hafandi verða. Nu ef þér es þetta of afl at trva sogo miNi eíNi saman. þá mon ec segia þér dōmi sogo til þessa. þá es þu muN eige vita áþr. oc þá es þu reýner at su es saN. es þér mun óglíclegr þykcia fyrst es ec sege þér. þá máttu oc trva at þetta mun sva epter ganga sem ec hefi sagt þér ... Ec kan þat segia þér at elisabéþ fráncóna þín...feR eige eínsaman. su cona es

Luke 1:34-36:

Dixit autem Maria ad angelum: Quomodo fiet istud, quoniam virum non cognosco? Et respondens angelus dixit ei: Spiritus sanctus super-veniet in te, et virtus Altissimi obumbrabit tibi. Ideoque et quod nascetur ex te sanctum, vocabitur Filius Dei.

Et ecce Elisabeth cognata tua, et ipsa concepit filium in senectute sua: et hic mensis sextus est illi, quae vocatur sterilis.

alla æfi hefer óbyria veret. oc es nu
 orþin sva gamol. at hon mátti eige barn
 ala fyr alldrs sacar oc eplis. þot hon
 hefpi fyR born átt. nu feR hon meþ hæmn...["]²⁵

A similar (though less garrulous) rendering of the verses which follow in Luke's gospel can be found in the sermon for the Feast of John the Baptist, the popular style of which was admired by Jan de Vriès (again, note in particular the frequent changes of tense and "homely"-vocabulary):

Sthom. 11/20-35:

...En epter þat för maria til fundar víp elisabép. oc gveþr drotning hana fyR. En er elisabép heýrþe heilson maríe. þa keomr þat fram er engellen qvaþ sveineN mōndo taka en helga aNda i mōpor qviþe. tekr þapan af elisabép gipt eNs helga aNda. er sveineN hafpi apr. teket. En er kom sú tíþ sem nú haldom vér. þa verþr elisabép léttare. En er þat heyrþo frændr hennar oc viner. at gub leit miscunar augom a hana.²⁶ þa fagnþo þeir. EN átta dag kómo þeir at gefa scurþarskírn sveinenom oc nafn. oc villdo hann heita lata zachariam. en elisabép lét hann ioan scyldo heita. Þeir léto of þui kynlego. oc tálþo enge sva heita hennar fráNda. Bþro síþan ritfeore at zakaria. oc bæþo hann ríta hvé hann skylde heita. En þa er hann hafþe ritit. þa gefsc honom málet. Joan scal hann heita qvaþ hann. þesse tíþende fáro víþa oc þótte mikils umb vert. Var of þat tíþreótt hverR sveiN sva [sic] meonde verþa fyr sér. þa tekr zakarias af gipt eNs helga anda

Luke 1:39-41:

Exsurgens autem Maria in diebus illis abiit in montana cum festinatione, in civitatem Iuda: et intravit in domum Zachariae, et salutavit Elisabeth. Et factum est, ut audivit salutationem Mariae Elisabeth, exsultavit infans in utero eius: et repleta est Spiritu sancto Elisabeth.

Luke 1:57-68:

Elisabeth autem impletum est tempus pariendi, et peperit filium. Et audierunt vicini et cognati eius quia magnificavit Dominus misericordiam suam cum illa, et congratulabantur ei. Et factum est in die octavo, venerunt circumcidere puerum, et vocabant eum nomine patris sui Zachariam. Et respondens mater eius, dixit: Nequaquam, sed vocabitur Ioannes. Et dixerunt ad illam: Quia nemo est in cognatione tua, qui vocetur hoc nomine. Innuebant autem patri eius quem vellet vocari eum. Et postulans pugillarem scripsit, dicens: Ioannes est nomen eius. Et mirati sunt universi. Apertum est autem illico os eius, et lingua eius, et loquebatur benedicens Deum. Et factus est timor super omnes vicinos eorum: et super omnia montana Iudaeae

at yrkía. Benedictus dominus
deus israel...²⁷

divulgabantur omnia verba haec: et
posuerunt omnes qui audierant in corde
suo, dicentes: Quis, putas, puer iste
erit? Etenim manus Domini erat cum
illo. Et Zacharias pater eius repletus
est Spiritu sancto: et prophetavit,
dicens: Benedictus Dominus Deus
Israel...

Another good example of this sort of unabashedly idiomatic handling of
scripture is found in the spirited version of Acts 2:1-18 in the Pente-
cost homily "De sancte [sic] spiritv":

Sthom. 22/31 - 23/28:

...Fra píslar típ iesu voro þeir sva
eorhiarta orþner víþ illzco gyþinga. at
traulla þótte þeim haska laust sér at
ganga i augsýn þeim. þót þeir átte
naupsyniar. þeir lucþo sic i þui loft-
húse er ioseph ab arimabía hafþe fenget
þeim til i vistar at þóscóm áþr...þeir
sóto i þesso húse aller saman meþ sino
lípi. þa ér leíþ at dagmólom. þa heýra
þeir sem vindr keóme a húset. þeir lito
upp til. oc só sem eldr vøre in komeN
i huset. sa er lýste af en eige bran.
HaN vas eige allr saman. heldr greín-
desc hann. var sua vaxeN sem tungur
til at sia iafnmargar þeim. Líþo síþan
tungor þær at þeim. En efter þat þa
tókó þeir sva fullega en helga anda.
sem meN mego of bera. þat sýndesc
brápast i þui hue þeir vrþo sér oðlíker.
sem ec sagþa fyR at þeir vqro til þessa
bþe hrædder umb sic oc ófróþer. En nv
gingo þeir þegar a stráte út oc þangat
es þeir só fiolmeNz vera. oc tókó þa at
mála a allar tungur. þar es þeir þorþo
eige áþr þegianDe at ganga. Víþ þat brá
síþan allre alþýþo. oc reóðdo umb hui

Et cum complerentur dies Pente-
costes, erant omnes pariter in
eodem loco: et factus est repente
de caelo sonus, tanquam advenientis
spiritus vehementis, et replevit
totam domum ubi erat sedentes. Et
apparuerunt illis dispertitae
linguae tanquam ignis, seditque
supra singulos eorum: et repleti
sunt omnes Spiritu sancto, et
coeperunt loqui variis linguis, prout
Spiritus sanctus dabat eloqui illis.

...Facta autem hac voce, convenit
multitudo, et mente confusa est,
quoniam audiebat unusquisque lingua
sua illos loquentes. Stupebant autem
omnes et mirabantur, dicentes: Nonne

mikil svá dirfþ eða malsnild var gefen
 ófropom monnom. [“]at þui er vér
 hvGPom[“] qvopo þeir [“?]oc-galversk-
 om [“?]. Sumer svoropo at þeir mondo
 drvcket hafa vín unct. oc mondo af
 þui sva máldiarfer þa svarape petar
 postole. [“]EN er etke lipet af dag-
 mplom. oc er enge vón þess of sip-
 láta men at þeir meone drvcner vera
 sva snimma dags. þat er fram komet[“]
 qvap hann [“]er ioél spámapr sagþe
 fyrer. at guþ meonde seNda eN helga
 anda siN sínom vinom.[“]²⁸

ecce omnes isti, qui loquuntur,
 Galilaei sunt, et quomodo nos
 audivimus unusquisque linguam
 nostram, in qua nati sumus?...
 Alii autem irridentes dicebant:
 Quia musto pleni sunt isti. Stans
 autem Petrus cum undecim, levavit
 vocem suam, et locutus est eis:...
 Non enim, sicut vos aestimatis, hi
 ebrii sunt, cum sit hora diei
 tertia: sed hoc est quod dictum
 est per prophetam Ioel: Et erit
 in novissimis diebus (dicit Dom-
 inus), Effundam de Spiritu meo
 super omnem carnem...Et quidem
 super servos meos, et super
 ancillas meos... [Joel 2:28ff.]

All of these passages, are, of course, examples of scriptural
 paraphrase rather than straightforward translation. However, the clear
 preference of the homilists for such free treatments of Scripture en-
 courages one to ask, with Dietrich Hofmann:

...Wie sollten sie da auch nur auf den Gedanken gekommen sein,
 die Darstellung ihrer Vorlagen im Sinne eigener literarischer
 Ambitionen eigenmächtig zu verändern, über das hinaus, was für
 eine gute, sinngemäße Wiedergabe - selbst sie im Mittelalter
 keineswegs eine Selbstverständlichkeit - notwendig war?²⁹

Hofmann denies emphatically that the homilists could have taken such
 a free hand with their sources (especially with sacred texts) and
 developed their independent style "aus eigenem Antrieb",³⁰ and he insists
 that the primary model for their method of translation must have been a
 thriving tradition of oral narrative. His parenthetical reference, how-
 ever, to the character of medieval translations in general is perhaps
 worth pursuing further, for Norwegian and Icelandic clerics of the twelfth
 century must also have been influenced by a tradition of ecclesiastical
 translation, whose principles had been worked out over many centuries.

The foundation of this tradition was laid by Saint Jerome, who, though not the first, long remained the model Christian translator. Jerome's interpretive method was, however, influenced in turn by the theories of translation fostered in the Roman rhetorical schools; and in his famous letter to Pammachius "de optimo genere interpretandi" he defends himself against the accusation that he has translated a Greek text inaccurately by appealing to the authority of Cicero and Horace, both of whom deplore the barbarism of a "faithful" rendering:

...ego enim non solum fateor, sed libera uoce profiteor me .
 in interpretatione Graecorum absque scripturis sanctis, ubi
et uerborum ordo mysterium est, non uerbum e uerbo, sed sensum
exprimere de sensu, habeoque huius rei magistrum Tullium, qui
 Protagoram Platonis et Oeconomicum Xenofontis et Aeschini et
 Demosthenis duas contra se orationes pulcherrimas transtulit.
 ...sufficit mihi ipsa translatoris auctoritas, qui ita in pro-
 logo earundem orationum locutus est:

...nec conuerti ut interpretes. sed ut orator, sententiis
 isdem et earum formis tamquam figuris, uerbis ad nostram
 consuetudinem aptis. in quibus non pro uerbo uerbum necesse
 habui reddere, sed genus omnium uerborum uimque seruaui. non
 enim me ea adnumerare lectori putavi oportere, sed tamquam
 adpendere.

sed et Horatius, uir acutus et doctus, hoc idem in Arte poetica
 erudito interpreti praecipit:

nec uerbum uerbo curabis reddere fidus
 interpretus.³¹

Jerome recognized that the difficulties facing the translator of Scripture "in which even the order of the words is a divine mystery" were infinitely more complex; and in producing his own translation of the Bible he was forced to reach an uneasy compromise between "sense for sense" and "word for word" renderings, as he explains in his preface to Job:

Haec autem translatio...nullum de veteribus sequitur interpretem,
 sed ex ipso Hebraico Arabicoque sermone, et interdum Syro, nunc
 verba, nunc sensus, nunc simul utrumque resonabit.³²

Jerome's primary concern in adopting this method was to remain faithful to the meaning of his original, as he emphasizes in his letter to Sunnias and Fretela:

...non debemus, sic verbum de verbo exprimere, ut dum syllabas sequimur, perdamus intelligentiam.³³

Jerome's judiciously flexible principle of translation was repeatedly endorsed (though not always observed) by medieval translators.³⁴ King Alfred, for instance, adopted Jerome's formula as the motto, as it were, of the translation programme instituted to arrest the decline of learning in his realm, stating in the prefaces to his own renderings of Gregory's Pastoral Care and Boethius' Consolation of Philosophy that he has endeavoured to translate "hwilum worde be worde, hwilum ondgit of andgite".³⁵ Alfred explains, moreover, that this was the method taught him by his clerical teachers ("swæ swæ ic hie geleornode at Plegmunde minum ærcebiscepe & at Asserie minum biscepe & at Grimbolde minum mæssepreoste & at Iohanne minum mæssepreoste"³⁶). In England, this tradition was continued by Ælfric of Eynsham, who provides clear statements of his methods and aims as a translator in the Latin prefaces to his Catholic Homilies and his Lives of Saints:

CH I. 1/6-14:

...transtulimus hunc codicem ex libris Latinorum, scilicet Sancte Scripture in nostram consuetam sermocinationem, ob aedificationem simplicum, qui hanc norunt tantum modo locutionem, sive legendo sive audiendo; ideoque nec obscura posuimus verba, sed simplicem Anglicam, quo facilius possit ad cor pervenire legentium vel audientium, ad utilitatem animarum suarum, quia alia lingua nesciunt erudiri, quam in qua nati sunt. Nec ubique transtulimus verbum ex verbo, sed sensum ex sensu...

Lives of Saints, ed. W.W. Skeat, E.E.T.S., O.S. 76, 82 (1881-85, rpt. 1966), I. 4/22-25:

Nec potuimus in ista translatione semper uerbum ex uerbo transferre, sed tamen sensum ex sensu, sicut inuenimus in sancta

scriptura, diligenter curauimus uertere Simpliciter et aperta locutione quatinus proficiat Audientibus.

In his "Preface to Genesis", Ælfric repeats Jerome's dictum that a translator of the Bible must take pains to preserve the very word-order of the original; he insists, nevertheless, that even a translator of a sacred text must respect the usage of his own language:

...we ne durren na mare awritan in Englisc þonne ðæt Ledene hæfð, ne ða endebyrdnysse awendan, buton ðam anum, ðæt ðæt Ledene 7 ðæt Englisc nabbað na ane wisan on ðære spræce fandunge: æfre se ðe awent oððe se ðe tæcð of Ledene on Englisc, æfre he sceal gefadian hit swa ðæt ðæt Englisc hæbbe his agene wisan, elles hit bið swyðe gedwolsum to ræddenne ðam ðe ðæs Ledenes wise ne can.³⁷

Ælfric wishes to remain as faithful as possible to the scriptural text; but above all he desires to guard against the production of a translation which might confuse or mislead an English reader. As Ann Eljenholm Nichols has pointed out, it is to the painstakingly literal method he is obliged to adopt in his Old Testament translations, quite distinct from the freer paraphrases found in the Catholic Homilies, that Ælfric refers when he states in the "Preface to Genesis" "...ðæt ic ne dearr ne ic nelle nane boc æfter ðisre qf Ledene on Englisc awendan":³⁸

...Nowhere in the preface does Ælfric object to translation as such. What he says is that a mere translation is not enough, for if he translates he cannot supply a commentary as he can in his homilies...³⁹

Ælfric states in the preface to his second series of Catholic Homilies that his first aim as a translator is to be understood by his listeners (CH II, 1/11-16):

...interpretare, non garrula verbositate, aut ignotis sermonibus, sed puris et apertis verbis lingue hujus gentis, cupientes plus prodesse auditoribus simplici locutione quam laudari artificiosi sermonis compositione, quam nequaquam didicit nostra simplicitas.

And while even the freer renderings of biblical passages found in his sermons rarely approach the colloquialism of the OWN scriptural para-

phrases cited above, it is clear that the preference of both Elfric and the OWN homilists for a more liberal method of translation in their sermons was encouraged by a well-established precept of Christian education -- that preachers should address their congregations in familiar language.⁴⁹ Saint Paul asked in his first letter to the Corinthians (14:9), "...except ye utter by the tongue words easy to be understood, how shall it be known what is spoken?"; and the spirit of Augustine's celebrated formula, "melius est reprehendant nos grammatici, quam non intelligent populi", informed a series of later pronouncements on the importance of preaching in terms familiar to the masses.⁴¹ The influential preacher Caesarius of Arles (whose works were well known in twelfth-century Scandinavia⁴²) begins one of his sermons with not only a defence of, but a plea for rusticity in popular preaching:

...et ideo rogo humiliter ut contentae sint eruditae aures
verba rustica aequanimiter sustinere, dummodo totus grex domini
simplici et ut ita dixerim, pedestri sermone pabulum spiritale
 possit accipere. Et quia imperiti et simplices ad scholasticorum
 altitudinem non possunt ascendere, eruditi se dignantur ad
 illorum ignorantiam inclinare.⁴³

Similarly, Rabanus Maurus devotes a chapter of his De clericorum Institutione to a discussion of the use of down-to-earth speech in sermons;⁴⁴ and Elfric observes that, in preaching, "Man sceal læwedum mannum secgan be heora andgites mæde".⁴⁵ The author of a sermon on the Annunciation in Sthom. paraphrases Gregory's advice to the pulpit orator to consider the capacities of his audience:

Sthom. 141/35-39 (Leifar
 176/10-14):

...þat verþr sá oc líta es keNer.
 til hvéss þeiR ó fallner es til
 hlýpa. at eige mæli hann fyr þeim
myrct es lítla skilning hafa oc
 eige sva langt saman at torvellt sé

Gr. I. 11 in Exechielem, 16,
CCSL 142, 176/265-268:

Curandum quoque quantum loquamur,
 ne si ei qui multa ferre non
 ualet uerbum uel exhortationis
 uel increpationis longius trahimus,
 auditorem nostrum ad fastidium

þeim es til hlýða at muna epter þat perducamus.
es mælt es.

In part, the adoption of a lucid, uncomplicated sermon-style was simply a matter of practicality. Ornate rhetoric and unfamiliar terminology could easily confuse an illiterate or newly-converted congregation for whom the fundamental tenets of the Christian faith might be difficult enough to grasp. However, simplicity and clarity of expression were more than mere expedients for religious writers of the Middle Ages. Medieval Christianity, in defending the inelegant, ungrammatical and vulgar prose of the earliest Christian writings (and of the Latin translations of the Scriptures in particular) generated at an early stage its own æsthetic of "humility". As Erich Auerbach has demonstrated, the sermo humilis, the "lowly style" almost inevitably became the hallmark of Christian eloquence. The "homeliness" of biblical style was the ultimate model for Christian authors:

...the style of the Scriptures throughout is humilis, lowly or humble. Even the hidden things (secreta, recondita) are set forth in a "lowly" vein. But the subject matter, whether simple or obscure, is sublime. The lowly, or humble, style is the only medium in which such sublime mysteries can be brought within the reach of men. It constitutes a parallel to the Incarnation, which was also a humilitas in the same sense, for men could not have endured the splendor of Christ's divinity. But the Incarnation, as it actually happened on earth, could only be narrated in a lowly and humble style. The birth of Christ in a manger in Bethlehem, his life among fishermen, publicans, and other common men, the Passion with its realistic and "scandalous" episodes -- none of this could have been treated appropriately in the lofty oratorical, tragic or epic style. According to the Augustan æsthetic, such matters were worthy, at best, of the lower literary genres. But the lowly style of Scripture encompasses the sublime. Simple, vulgar, and crassly realistic words are employed, the syntax is often colloquial and inelegant; but the sublimity of the subject matter shines through the lowliness, and there is hidden meaning

parallel cola, rhetorical questions, and an impressive series of caesa which "pour forth with a most pleasing vigour":⁵¹

...Ter virgis caesus sum,
 semel lapidatus sum:
 ter naufragium feci,
 nocte et die in profundo maris fui
 in itineribus saepe,
 periculis fluminum,
 periculis latronum,
 periculis ex genere,
 periculis ex gentibus,
 periculis in civitate,
 periculis in solitudine,
 periculis in mari,
 periculis in falsis fratribus;
 in labore et aerumna,
 in vigiliis multis,
 in fame et siti,
 in ieiuniis multis,
 in frigore et nuditate
 ...
 Quis infirmatur, et ego non infirmor?
 quis scandalizatur, et ego non uror?

Similarly, he admires the simple parallelism in Amos 6:4 -- "Qui dormitis in lectis eburneis/ Et lascivitis in stratis vestris;/ Qui comeditis agnum de grege,/ Et vitulos de medio armenti" -- and observes that this form of utterance was particularly well suited to the humble audience of the "rustic turned prophet".⁵² As Mohrmann notes, "it is as though, with this remark, he wishes to free these figures from the rhetorical tradition and place them in the framework of the living, popular language".⁵³ As she points out, it is not surprising that the features of scriptural eloquence discussed by Augustine are also among the hallmarks of his own sermon-style -- a style based upon "the Bible on one hand, [and] the living language-consciousness on the other".⁵⁴

Mohrmann echoes Henri Marrou in emphasizing that Augustine was the first Christian author "to treat the problem of style not negatively, but positively. He was also the first to demand a Christian style."⁵⁵ She observes, moreover, that Augustine's revolutionary insight was that the Christian orator could acquire eloquence, as it were, without rhetoric:

...Augustine had the courage to separate the "eloquentia" from the rhetoric, and this was unheard of in Antiquity. He declares that it is possible to become a good orator without the rules and precepts of the rhetoricians... Instead...Augustine proposes the possibility of developing a natural talent by the reading of good models. These models, however, are no longer the Classical authors, but the Bible and the Fathers of the Church.⁵⁶

Quintilian's precept frequens imitatio transit in mores was thus given a new emphasis, as, for the Christian writer, the lectio divina itself became a "school of rhetoric".⁵⁷ As Augustine says,

There is no lack of ecclesiastical literature...which, if read by a capable man, even though he is interested more in what is said than in the eloquence with which it is said, will imbue him with that eloquence especially if he gains practice by writing, dictating, or speaking what he has learned according to the rule of piety and faith.⁵⁸

A brief survey of commonplace tropes, figures and stylistic features in Sthom. and Nhom. shows clearly how this principle was put into practice by the Old West Norse homilists. Not only did the scriptural and patristic texts they read, digested and "made their own" often serve as practical models, allowing them to make use of figures such as those admired by Augustine, but more importantly the exercise of translation and adaptation from Latin sources acted as a midwife for expression, forcing the homilists to adapt the resources of their own language to new uses. Fredrik Paasche has observed that

Latin reading to a great extent forms the basis of Icelandic

ecclesiastical sermons, and this kind of study of the Latin language must have developed and strengthened a taste for good prose. It may be conjectured that some of the distinctive features, which to us appear so characteristic of the later Icelandic (and Norwegian) style of writing, the "saga style", have derived support from the Latin texts.⁵⁹

Indeed, the marriage in the homilies of simple but effective rhetorical devices to a "humble style" of delivery was part of the process whereby, as Gabriel Turville-Petre has emphasized, the early writers of religious prose

...helped the Icelanders to develop a literary style in their own language, and gave them the means to express their own thoughts through the medium of letters. In a word, the learned literature did not teach the Icelanders what to think or what to say, but it taught them how to say it.⁶⁰

In exploiting both a Latin literary tradition and their own considerable talents, the early Norwegian and Icelandic homilists enriched the stylistic resources of their literary heirs.

Parallelism, Prose Rhythm, and Alliteration.

In his essay, "Saga Style in Some Kings' Sagas", Frederic Amory makes the following surprising observation:

...The range of Latin expressions and stylisms which Old Norse could assimilate, and did, has not yet been canvassed by any means, but there were linguistic limits to what clerical stylists might do with the vernacular. The periphrastic oddities of style in the Fóstbræðra Saga...were presumably easier to contrive, congenial as they were to skaldic poets, than the balanced, antithetical Kunstprosa of classical and medieval Latin, which was quite foreign to the over-all ordonnance of literary Old Norse. The parallelism of alliterative phrases was not to be forced farther into antitheses between sentences, as in Ágrip: "Syrgþi hann hana dauða, en landz-lýþr allr syrgþi hann viltan", or, "Seig hon svá í þsko, en konungr steig til vitzko ok hugþi af heimsko, stýrþi síþan ríki síno ok styrkþi, gladdisk hann af þegnom sínom ok þegnar af honom, en ríkit af hvóro tveggja". These antithetical sentences are indeed exceptions to the habitual stylistic practice of clerical writers of Old Norse, for all their love of Latin. In comparison with Latin KunstProsa, Old Norse prose remains unbalanced and unperiodic --what Aristotle would have called $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\xi\varsigma\ \epsilon\iota\sigma\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta$, a running style, merely additive of clauses, "which has no end in itself, unless the subject matter comes to an end". In this unadorned style, however, subtelties were contained undreamt of in the philosophy of Aristotle.⁶¹

Amory's claim that balanced sentence-patterns are "exceptions to the habitual stylistic practice of clerical writers of Old Norse" is difficult to test, since he does not say which clerical texts, or even which period he has in mind. In Sthom. and Nhom. at any rate, examples of isocolon and antithetical constructions can be found on almost every page, both in translations and in texts for which no Latin analogues have been found:⁶²

Sthom. 51/5-8

Ps. Aug. 117, PL 39, 1978/24-29:

Ef sic truer sélan her. sa

Si beatum se credit, qui hoc

er þat eignasc er hann misser

possidet quod dimissurus est

efster dauðan.	post mortem;
hvé ðrygr es sa er	quam securus est,
þess bíðr er hann skal	qui illud præmium sperat, quod
aldrege tyna?	nunquam amissurus est per
Ef sa er ríkr kallapr er	æternitatem!
stíórnar heimenom.	Si potens dicitur, qui mundo imperat;
hverso sáll er sa er	quam beatus est qui Deum
Gup hever i hug ser.	in conscientia pura portat!

Sthom. 114/30-32:

Vér þurfom at vér látem í meín oss.
 til þess at þa oflife hann epter øss.
 vér þurfom at hann gere i meín oss.
 til þess at hann of huGe oss.

Sthom. 120/2-5:

Bacmáless meN
 oc umbless meN
 oc meíns meN óra.
 scolom ver eige hata
 heldr elsca
 eige sem vine
 heldr sem óvine
 eige fyr þeiRa verþleics sacar.
 heldr fyr guþs sacar.
 enda fyr sacar næþsynia báþe váRa oc þeiRa.

Sthom. 102/27-29 (Nhom. 99/20-22):

Gott es at gefa fé til kircna.
 en betra es at hugga válaþa nánga i naúþsyniom sínom.
 þuiat kirkior farasc meþ heíme.
 en aNder maNa fyrfarasc aldrege.⁶³

Nhom. 110/21-22:

En þvi mæiri gózsco er hann téoe þæim af sinni hendi.
 þvi ollu verri ok u-tryggri varo þeir honum.⁶⁴

Nhom. 113/17-19

cf. Metcalfe, 76/8-9:

...þa caus hann sér þann lut	...elegit honeste mori, quam cum
hældr at dýia með drængscap	dedecore tanto et infamia sui

ok láta lif sit karlmanlega. generis spolia sua cum nauibus
 en lifa við scom ok relinquere tiranno.
 brigsli ok bera clákes-orð
 með sva mykilli fear-missu.

Nhom. 148/6-10:

...þa man þat taca til yðar er prophetan mæler guðs munni.

Dabis impio militi
 si non uis dare sacerdoti.

Vmildum riðarascau tu gefa tiund þina nauðigr.

ef þu vilt ægi gefa guði almatkom ok kenni-manne þinum lostigr.⁶⁵

The parallel and antithetical constructions found in the Homily Books are, on the whole, less ostentatious than those Amory cites from Ágrip; but the homilists very often reinforce their isocola and antitheses with other figures: homoioteleuton, polyptoton, anaphora, assonance, rhyme, and alliteration. Cf., e.g.:

Sthom. 81/16-20 (Nhom. 60/21-25):

...þa geromsc vér verþer heilags anda.
 oc kollo[m]sc liþer crists
 ef ver erom oslöger i hiortom
 oc meínlæser i orþom.
 millder i verkom
 oc athugasamer i beónom.
 vakrer i gegn allre freístne.
 oc ástsamer víþ gup.
 oc miscunsamer víþ nónga.

Sthom. 143/14-20:

þetta líf eGiar galássa meN
 til ofáts oc ofdryckio.
 oc hordoms meN
 til saúrlífess.
 miNer þat þiófeN at hann stele.
 en reíþan at hann vege.
 en scrócmæN at hann liúge.

Acta S. Sebastiani., PL 17, 1116:

Ipsa dat edacitatem glutonibus.
 ipsa ebrietatem ingerit temulentis,
 ipsa naufragium pudoris adulteris,
 ipsa execrabilem tradit perversitatem
 incestis;
 ipsa admonet furem, ut rapiat;
 iracundiam ut sæviat;
 mendacem, ut fallat.

<u>þetta líf</u> . sár velldr skilnaðe	Ipsa inter conjuges divortia seminat.
meðal hiúna	inter amicos discordias,
oc georer sundrþykce með	inter pacificos lites,
vinom.	inter justos injustitiam,
oc þrátor með friðsamom	inter fratres scandala.
oc stygð með bróðrom.	Ipsa tollit iudicibus justitiam,
<u>þetta líf</u> tecr réttláte fra domendum	castis pudicitiam,
oc hagleic fra smíðom.	artificibus peritiam,
oc hófseme fra síðom.	ipsa aufert moribus disciplinam.

Sthom. 177/3-8 (Nhom. 44/1-7):	Fulgentius, <u>PL</u> 65, 730A:
<u>J gár</u> vas cristr vaff[p]r i reífom.	Heri Christus pro nobis pannis est
<u>en i dag</u> vas stephanus <u>scrýððr</u>	involutus;
<u>odaplego scrúpe.</u>	hodie Stephanus stola
<u>J ger</u> tóć þrang eta víp criste	est ab eo immortalitatis
ungom sveíne.	indutus.
<u>en i dag</u> tóć rúm <u>háll himins</u>	Heri præsepis angustia Christum
víp stephano cristz rípera.	portavit infantem.
...	hodie immensitas cæli
Kristr ste nípr <u>holde hulpr</u>	suscepit Stephanum
en stephanus sté upp	triumphantem.
blópe helgaþr. ⁶⁶	...

Sthom. 191/27-28:

Hitne ást guþs í hiortom óðrom
svat vér gleýmem iarblegom girnþom
en gleþemk í himnescom fagnopom.

Nhom. 43/1-5:

Maðr hafnaðe guði.
ok hvarf braut fra honum.
en guð ælscaðe mann
ok com hingat til manna.
Ælscaðe hann syngan
ok gerðe retlátan.
ælscaðe hann síucan
ok gerðe hæilan.
ælscaðe hann anauðgan
ok gerðe frialsan.

ok æscaðe [sic] sva framarla

at hann selði sic til dauða
at ver mættim lifa.

Nhom. 107/12-16:

Oc sva sem Iohannes boðaðe burð Crist í burð sinum.
ok scirn hans í skirn sinni.
sva boðaðe hann oc dauða Crist í sinum dauða.
Oc sva sem hann sagðe nalgast frið ok fagnað
þeim er í hæimi vǽro.
sva sagðe hann oc nalgasc lausn guðs vīnum
þeim er í hælviti varo.

Nhom. 109/12-13:

Hann firði sic hvivitna því er
guðs log banna.

en þat vann hann
með mycclum astar
hita er þau bioða.⁶⁷

cf. Metcalfe, 68/16-18:

Quicquid diuina lex prohibet
uehementer abhorrebat;

quicquid precepit
ardentissimo complectebatur
amore.

Certain commonplaces provided the OWN homilists with, as it were, "ready-made" rhythmical sequences. The Homily Books contain several examples, for instance, of the traditional alius-series, in which isocolon is combined effectively with anaphora:

Sthom. 41/6-12 (Nhom. 145/
8-13):

...þessa hótíþ eignasc oc píslar
vátтар guþs þeir es fyr lito þessa
heims líf. oc boþorþ heiþeNa
conunga.

sumer váro sverþom hogner.

en sumer i elde breNder.

sumer i vatne kaþer.

en sumer stangom barþer.

sumer hengþer

en sumer i hvéle brotner.

cf. J.E. Cross, "Legimus in Ecclesiasticis Historiis", Traditio 33 (1977), 115/124-32:

...His subiectum est triumphale
martyrum nomen qui per diuersa tormentorum genera Christi passionem non
laccessentibus precordiorum mentibus
imitabantur;

alii ferro perempti

alii flammis exusti,

alii flagris uerberati,

alii uectibus perforati,

alii cruciati patibulo,

sumer svellter

en af sumum kykom

skiN flegat.

En fyr slika hlute alla taka

þeir elífa [sic] dýrþ a himne.

alii pelagi periculo [var. + demersi]

alii uiui decoriati,

alii uinculis mancipati,

alii linguis priuati,

alii lapidis obruti,

alii frigore adflicti,

alii fame cruciati,

alii uero truncatis manibus

siue ceteris cæsis membris.

...Hi sunt triumphatores et amici dei

qui ... modo coronantur et accipiunt

palmas laborum...⁶⁸

Sthom. 204/21-26:

Er á þeire eNe sámo stundo tóko

heilso þrír meN ens átta tegar

af ilm þessom.

fra sámom fleóþo díoflar. oc
vitkópasc eórer.

en sumer tóko sýn sina.

sumer hreínsópasc lícþraer.

sumom beóttesc hæfþ verkia

sumom stæpvapesc bloþrós.

en sumom iNan meína. eþa

riþosóTa. oc margra aNaRa

kynia sótta þeiRa es vér cuNom

eige nefna.⁶⁹

Epistola Luciani, PL 41, 813B-C:

Et ipsa hora mox de odore suavitatis

ejus septuaginta et tres animæ curatæ

sunt.

Ab aliis fugati dæmones,

aliorum fons restrictus est sanguinis,

alii a strumis et furunculis liberati;

alii a syringio sanati,

alii a tertianis et quartanis;

alios febris reliquit,

alios morbus regius;

alii a cephalagia curati et hemicrania

nonnulli a viscerum occulto dolore

liberati. Et multas alias curationes

senserunt homines, quas enumerare

longum est.

Similarly, conventional descriptions of heaven and hell offered ample opportunity for the production of elaborate rhythmical sequences, embellished with anaphora, polysyndeton, and often assonance and alliteration:

Nhom. 32/11-14, 33/31 - 34/2 ("De natiuitate domini sermo"):

Þar er æigi hungr ne þorste.

ne ælli ne myrcr.

ne óp ne ræimr.

ne væinan. ne grátr.
ne sorg. ne sarlæicr.

Þar er lios fyrí utan mycr [sic]
ok líf fyrir utan dauða.
óeska fyrir utan ælli.
Hæilsa fyrir utan sótt.

...

Þeir er her a veroldo lofa of-drycciu eða of-fylli.
oc vilia æigi til yfir-bota ganga.
ok una í þeim syndum til dauða-dags.
Þa hafa þeir ængi lut í himnum með guði.
ok þeim er ætlat hælviti með dioflum.
þar er óp. ok grátr.
ok hungr. ok þorste.
ok svælgjande ældr.
vii. lutum hæitare en á veroldo mege hinn hæitasta gera.
Oc þar er æi myrcr æon líós.
ælli fyrí utan øsko.

Nhom. 88/28 - 89/4 ("Sermo necessaria"):

En himin-riki er sva got at engi maör kan þat hyggia eða
oörum sægja.

þar er lif æi-lift
ok æi ok æi lios
þar er gaman ok gleði
ok hversconar pryði
ok dyrð ok fagnaðr enda-laus.
þar værðr maör æigi siucr.
ok engi of-gamal.
þar er hvarke hungr ne þorste.
þar er æigi sut ne sorg.
þar ann hver maör oörum iamt sem siolfum sér.
Þar sculu aller goðer menn guð sia æi ok æi
ok með honum lifum ok hans ænglum fyrir utan enda.
Sæler ero þeir menn er við sliet sculu vera.
en hinir ero vesler er til hælvitis sculu rapa.
þar sculu þeir vera með dioflum.
þar er ei ok ei myrcr ok mæin
ok sut ok sorg.

hungr ok þorste
firna frost ok ofhiti
 ok hinar mæsto þiningar.
 ok allar endi-lausar.⁷⁰

It is especially interesting to observe how in both of these passages parallel phraseology is used to accentuate the polarity of the antithetical descriptions, and to make the torments of hell appear as a demonic parody of the joys of heaven: Nhom. 32/11, hungr ne þorste -- 33/35, hungr. ok þorste; 32/12, ne óp ne ræimr -- 33/35, óp. ok gratr; 32/13, lios fyrri utan mycr -- 34/2, myrcr æón liós; 32/14, æska fyrir utan ælli -- 34/2, ælli fyrri utan øsko; Nhom. 88/29-30, lif æi-lift ok æi ok æi lios -- 89/2, ei ok ei myrcr ok mæin; 88/32, hvarke hungr ne þorste ... sut ne sorg -- 89/2-3 sut ok sorg. hungr ok þorste.

Catalogues of virtues and vices also tend to become rhetorical show-pieces. In a eulogy on "shamefastness" in Sthom., a striking rhythm is achieved through the asyndetic juxtaposition of short parallel cola in which the verb appears in the primary position (note, too, the use in the passage of alliteration, homoioteleuton and polyptoton; 103/11-20):

Grandvære er gafogleg oc itarleg oc drengelig
 atferp fyr gups ægom.
 þuiat af henne gerasc marger góper hluter.
 Af henne geresc hreinlíf.
 en hon heldr aftr síngirno [sic].
forþasc hon þrátor.
 oc stæpvar hon reiþe.
varasc hon við ofdryckio.
þreongver hon losta
stiller hon beíþne.
hirter hon girnþer.
 hon eýcr eige orþe of orþ.
forþasc hon ofát [oc] ofdryckio
 oc fyr deomer hon stulþ.
alla lasto þreonguer hon.

en allt þat es lofleict es fyr goþe oc goþom monnom.
þat fylger allt grándvare oc rápvende.⁷¹

The translator of a commonplace passage on alms-giving in the Sthom. Lenten sermon, "Jn capite ieiunii", produces a similar cadence by omitting the subjects of verbs:

64/1-5:

Olmoso góþe er heilagur hlutr.
oc mon láta sín þiön guþe naláðian.
oc mon leysa synþer.
oc margfaldar þat lífs daga manz.
tígnar hugskotet.
oc hreinsar alla hlute.
leyser af dauða oc fra písl.
samtenger englom.
en skilr fra dioflom.
hlífskioldr ændon
en brautrecning andscota.
laðar heim engla til fulltings

H.L. Spencer, ed. "A Lost Penitential Homily Found", MS 44 (1982), 291/98-101 (cf. J. Turville-Petre, Traditio 19 [1963], 60):
Aelimosina est res sancta,
auget presentia.
demit peccata.
multiplicat annos,
nobilitat mentem,
dilatata terminos,
mundat omnia
liberat a morte et a poena,
iungit angelis,
separat a demonibus,
murus est inexpugnabilis circa animam,
demonibus expellit,
invitat angelos in auxilium.

The author of this text would appear to use the subjectless sentence-construction in order to imitate as closely as possible the rhythm he admires in his Latin model.⁷²

Sequences of this kind are often punctuated with alliteration.

The sermon on grandveri cited above contains, for instance, the following companion-passage on "uprightness" (Sthom. 103/36 - 104/3):

...En of rápvendina verþr nu mart reótt
...hon es kælloþ...
fegrþ líótra manna
en farsála goþra.
huggon harmanða.
auke allrar fegrþar.
vegr síþlátes
oc vörn gleópa

minkon misverka.
 en miklon verpleíca
 honetæ kǫllop vinátta meþal gups oc gopra manna.

In many similar passages, especially catalogues of sins, which often grow to impressive proportions, the prose rhythm is buoyed up through the use of word-pairs. The introduction of rhythmical "inventories" of sins often helped the preacher to hold the attention of his listeners and to make a simple point ("Repent, that your sins may be blotted out") in a memorable way. As the author of an Ascension Day homily in Sthom. explains in introducing such a list, he makes use of the device in order to make his sermon less boring (Sthom. 21/34-22/1):

...En til þess at eige gere ybr langmál leipende. þa monom
 ver scyndelegaR atqvæþom leipa⁷³ hvat oss hefter mest til
 gups at koma.

Grimþ. oc óþocke.

vlfúþ oc þústr.

Saurlífe. oc þiófsskapr.

illýþge of þa meN es ver megom

etke reyña aNat en vel se...

This roll of vices is remarkable for its subtle alliteration (note especially the vowel alliteration and assonance of "óþocke ... vlfúþ ... illýþge"). More often, however, in lists of this kind, a more insistent sound-pattern is achieved through the use of conventional alliterative doublets. Cf., e.g., Sthom. 44/12, "...varna víþ ofmetnaþe oc æfund. víþ hatre oc hæþne..."; 147/6-16, "Hefe ec synþer gort i morþe oc i maNdræpe ... i hæþne oc i hlatre ... J bacmelgi oc i bermelgi..."⁷⁴; 158/ 19-20, "... oc strygva sva eítrit or hugnom. reíþi oc ranqláti. bolvön oc bacmæli. æofund oc ofmetnþ. eítr es slíct callat..."⁷⁵. A good extended example of the same technique is found in a catalogue of virtues which forms part of an excursus on Luke 2:14 ("...pax hominibus bonae voluntatis") in an Annunciation sermon in Sthom. (137/ 17-32):

...þeir ero eN meþ góþom vilia. es...
 vilia sér sielfom refsa ósiþo.
 oc keNa óþrom góþa nlute.
 vera litelláter oc lastvarer.
 miscuNsamer oc eige mikilláter.
 hogværer oc eige heíptraker.
 hafa biNdande. oc brióstgeóþe...
 georasc óagiarnar oc olmoso góþer...
 hafna heimskraúte
 haldasc i guþs lofe.
 Oflætr til góþra verka
 Gaúmgéfa vel tíþer.
 vera góþmólger oc gásamer
 Trufaster oc eige tungo skeóþer...
 gleþasc fyr guþs sakar. oc galeyse hafnna.
 haldasc í guþs lofe. oc i góþom verkom.⁷⁶

In his article, "Vers i homilieþøgerne", Jón Helgason points out that the last two lines of this passage can be scanned as verse; and he cites many other examples from the homilies of short sequences which are reminiscent of fornyrðislag in their stress-patterns and alliteration (among them some other passages already cited in this chapter: cf. above, Sthom. 103/38 - 104/3, 191/27 ; Nhom. 88/35 - 89/1).⁷⁷ Jón admits that "Sådanne linjer vil flere ganga dukke op i allittererende prosa, uden at man derfor med nogen sikkerhed tør hævde, at det har været forfatterens eller oversætterens bevidste hensigt at slå over i versform";⁷⁸ but such passages serve, at least, to demonstrate the homilists sensitivity to prose-rhythm. Perhaps the most striking of Jón's examples is a passage in the second homily for All Saints in Sthom., the last part of which can (as Gabriel Turville-Petre previously noted⁷⁹) be written out as a complete fornyrðislag stanza (Sthom. 157/37 - 158/1):

...lygi ok lausung
 oc lester marger,
 scopon. oc scialsemi
 oc skeítun. optlega

gíálp oc galeýsi.
 glepi ofallin.
 gildingr oc geþleysi
 grand er þat andar.⁸⁰

In an essay on "Latin Influence on the Norwegian Language", Bjarne Berulfsen suggests that alliteration is often used in ON clerical literature as a substitute for Latin Reimprosa:

...the almost completely dominant use of alliteration we sometimes meet in the religious literature and also in the translated, romantic sagas is there to make up for all the stylistic effects in the original which could not be translated easily into Norwegian. The inflectional endings of Latin seem to favour assonance more than Norwegian does, so the latter compensates by using alliteration.⁸¹

In his discussion of alliteration in the OWN translation of Vitae Patrum, Mattias Tveitane considers Gustaf Cederschiöld's similar suggestion that in OWN translations of French romances the device was used to make up for the loss of "originalets prydliga rim".⁸² Tveitane objects,

...Men dette resonnement kan ikke strekke til som forklaring på hvorfor alliterasjonen også kan bli brukt i slik overflod i prosaoversettelser fra latin ... Vi kan ikke se noen grunn til å etterstreve en slik "poetisk" form i legendeoversettelser, og de latinske originaltekstene synes ikke i særlig grad å invitere til bruk (enn si misbruk) av et slikt kunstmiddel.⁸³

The alliterative excesses of the OWN Vitae Patrum are rarely paralleled in twelfth-century OWN clerical prose; but the early translators recognized the value of alliteration as a simple means of enlivening a phrase or emphasizing a point.⁸⁴ And Tveitane observes that the real "model" for their habitual use of the figure was doubtless a rich native tradition of alliterative mnemonic formulas and proverbial phrases.⁸⁵

As Tveitane also notes, the translators occasionally encountered examples of alliteration in their Latin sources:

...den første generasjon av norrøne oversettere, de som har gjengitt den eldste preken- og legendlitteraturen, har i sine latinske forelegg møtt spredte allitererende forbindelser som ikke uten videre samsvarte med de faste allitererende formlene de kjente fra sitt eget språk. En del av disse "tilfeldige" alliterasjonene kan de så ha ført over i sin norrøne språkform -- kanskje delvis av pietet, for å følge forelegget så nøye som råd, men vel også fordi figuren hadde en særlig stilverdi...⁸⁶

In the Nhom. Olaf-legend, for instance, one can find isolated examples of passages in which alliteration would appear to be used in imitation of the same figure in Eysteinn Erlendsson's Passio et Miracula Beati Olai:⁸⁷

110/8-11:

Nu eptir þat þa setti hann log
manna á millum þau er yfir allt
land hafa síðan halden veret.
at rikir menn ráne ægi hina er
er fatðkre ero. hælðr raðe hverr
sinu sem ret er...

cf. Metcalfe, 70/14 - 71/1:

In futuro eciam prouinciis quibus
preerat prouidens, ne nobiliores
quique et potenciores per potenciam
humiliores opprimerent, leges
diuinas et humanas ... scripsit
et promulgauit.

116/6-8;

...hæimti til sin þann litla
stuf er eptir stoð tungunnar..
ok togaðe sva hætt ok tþygðei at
sá ungi maðr fec ægi þolat í
søfnenom u-ðpande.⁸⁸

80/3-6:

...lingue truncate partem que
remanserat tanta uirtute extraxit
et extendit, ut uiolenciam conaminis
adolescens ferre non ualens in somnis
clamare cogeretur

117/8-9:

...um kono þa flout ok fór
ferlect u-orðan.

81/4-5:

...de muliere illa suspicio sinistra
oriretur.

117/19-20:

...styfðu af tungunni. ok stungu
bæðe æugun ór hæðei honum.

81/14-15:

...abscidunt linguam, a capite oculos
eruunt.

118/13-14

...þa grere ár hvit á hvarmum
baðom.⁸⁹

82/4

...remansit in palpebris cicatrix
candida.

Similarly, in the Nhom. version of Alcuin's De Virtutibus et Vitiis, odd examples can be found of alliterative sequences which correspond to Latin passages featuring both alliteration and homoioteleuton:

12/34-35:

...þa fyr-færsc dvolen en
æftir stændr dømengen

PL 101, 623C:

...perit dilatio,
et restat damnatio

20/22-23:

A varga væniu gripa þair alla
luti. en vaita fát veslom.⁹⁰

629B:

...luporum more cuncta rapientes,
et vix pauperibus pauca relinquentes.

Even on the basis of such examples, however, one would hardly be justified in arguing that the general use of alliteration in either the Olaf-legend or the Nhom. version of De Virtutibus et Vitiis is derived from, or even directly inspired by the Latin, since in both texts the figure is commonly introduced in translations of Latin passages which are adorned with few or no verbal ornaments. Cf., for example, in the Alcuin translation:

Nhom. 20/9-10:

Opt ma ^{fiandr}forðasc_Ameð flotta en
æigi ma flyia riki dømandi⁹¹

Alc. VV, PL 101, 629A:

Hostes sæpe fuga vitantur: iudices
[vero] propter potentiam effugi non
possunt...

21/6-8:

...Ef scildir væroa scrøcvattar.
þa munu þair þegar finnasc
lygnir. En hvartvæggi er sacr.
sa er læynir sonnu ok sa er
sægir lyoi. því at annar vil
æigi duga. en annar girnisc at
granda.⁹²

629C:

Si falsi testes separantur, mox
mendaces inveniuntur. Uterque [æque]
rectus est, et qui veritatem occultat,
et qui mendacium dicit: quia et ille
prodesse non vult, et iste nocere
desiderat.

29/21:

O-glæði ill fyrri andlega glæði.⁹³

637A:

...tristitia mala per latitiam
spiritualem...

The author of the Nhom. Olaf-legend habitually resorts to even more elaborate forms of alliterative word-play. It is interesting, for

instance, to compare the following examples from the introductory homily "In die sancti Olavi Regis et martiris" with the corresponding passages in Eysteinn's Passio, for although, as Anne Holtmark has pointed out,⁹⁴ the OWN homily cannot be regarded as a direct translation of this Latin text, it is instructive to see how the vernacular writer often overgoes Eysteinn in his combination of alliteration with assonance and figura etymologica:

Nhom. 108/23-25:

...hann þidða þann myccla þela
or brioste þeim með mykil-læic
hins hælgasta. ok eldi huq harð-
hugaðra manna. með astar hita
hinnar hælgu trv...

108/30 - 109/1

En þa réð fyrir Norege hinn
hælgí Oláfr konungr. hann var
mykil guðs dyrlingr. mildr at
sannu ok miscunsamr.
sannsyn umm alla luti þa er
til gøzsko horfðe.

110/14-16:

Stillir hann konunga ok konungs
menn. lastar of-dramb þeirra ok
of-mykin yfir-gang. ok læg við
sectir ef þeir ganga yfir hit
sanna.

cf. Metcalfe 67/18-19:

Et gentium efferarum obstinatos ac
feroces animos calore fidei tandem
emolliuit.

68/5-7:

Huic tunc, ut diximus, provincie
preerat rex olauus, qui licet gentilis,
natura tamen benignus erat, et ad
honestaque sequenda quadam mentis
ingenuitate promptissimus.

71/4-6:

...Sapienter considerans plerumque
reges potestate sibi consessa superbe
abuti in subditos, legum rigore
regalem cohercuit et refrenauit
licenciam.

Many other passages could be cited from Sthom. and Nhom. which demonstrate that the homilists' facility for the use of alliteration did not make them less willing to exploit other rhetorical devices. In, for instance, the impressive eulogy of the Cross which forms the peroration of a sermon for Inventio Sanctae Crucis found in both Sthom.

and Nhom., alliteration is used sparingly to accent the sonorous rhythm achieved through the use of isocolon and homoioteleuton (Sthom. 39/6-16; cf. Nhom. 105/8-18):

fyr crosse drottens flóia dioflar.
 hræpesc helvite.
 daúpe fjrresc.
 synþer forþasc.
 scammasc oviner.
 friþr magnasc.
 en óst þróasc oc aller góþer hluter.
 Heilagr cross es sigrmarc guþs.
 en laúsnarmarc mann.
 en fagnaþarmarc engla.
 helgaþr af guþe.
 dýrcaðr af englom
 en gqfgaðr af monnom.
 oc vegsamaðr af allre skepno.
 Heilagr cross er hlífskioldr víþ meínom.
 en hiólp i farsélegom hlutom.
 huGon víþ harme.
 oc hugbót i fagnaþe.
 hlíf víþ háasca.
 læcning víþ sóttom.
 laúsn i hoftom.
 en leiþrétteng fra synþom.
 sigr i orrostum
 en eflíng víþ allre freístne
 styrçþ válaþra.
 en stiórnr auþogra.
 friþr góþom
 en ógn illom.⁹⁵

And the author of a translation of Caesarius' sermo 227, "De Natale Ecclesiae", shows that his skill at combining alliteration effectively with isocolon, homoioteleuton and rhyme equals that of the Latin preacher:

Sthom. 93/6-13:

...en þo es næpsyn at leíta
 víþ sva sem vér megom at
 hrióþa abravt synþa saúri oc
lundar læstom. at etki fiNi guþ
 þat i hugarfari óro es augo
 hans stygguisv sc víþ. helldr
 leítom vér at hiartahall ór
leysisc fra læstom
en lýsisc costom.
firrisv hatr oc heíþter.
en fyllisc gíþt oc gótsco
þyrgisc fyr diofli
en lúkisc upp fyr cristi.
 oc leítom at lúca upp
 himinríkiss dyR meþ luklom
 goþgerninga váRa. þár es vér
 hæfom læstar fyrer oss siálfir
 af synþom orom...⁹⁶

CCSL 104, 897 (852/12-17):

...quantum possumus cum ipsius
 adiutorio laboremus, ne dominus
 noster in templo suo, hoc est,
 in nobis ipsis inveniat quod
 oculos suae maiestatis offendat;
 sed habitaculum cordis nostri
evacuetur vitiis,
et virtutibus repleatur
claudatur diabolo,
et aperiatur Christo;
 et ita laboremus, ut nobis bonorum
 operum clavibus ianuam regni
 caelestis aperire possimus.

Such passages are clearly the work of accomplished stylists who had no difficulty in combining native and Latin features to produce a prose of remarkable power.

1. Den oldnorske og oldislandske Litteraturs Historie (2nd ed., 1920-24), II, 930.
2. "Homiliebøger", KLNM VI, 664.
3. Homíliu-Bók..., CCIMÆ VIII (1935), 18.
4. "Enthält das Stockholmer Homilienbuch durchweg Übersetzungen?", ANF 32 (1916), 45. (Vrátný cites several examples of "popular" features in Sthom., 46ff.) See also Jan de Vries, Altnordische Literaturgeschichte (2nd ed., 1964-67), II, 182:

...Diese sermones ad populum sind für den mündlichen Vortrag bestimmt. Deshalb ist die Sprache ohne gelehrte Stilmerkmale, sondern fließend und einfach...
5. de Vries, "Die isländische Saga und die mündliche Überlieferung", Märchen, Mythos, Dichtung. Festschrift zum 90. Geburtstag Friedrich von der Leyens..., ed. H. Kuhn and K. Schier (1963), 174.
6. D. Hofmann, "Die Skaldendichtung aus heutiger Sicht", Skandinavistik 11 (1981), 20-21; "Die mündliche Sagaerzählkunst aus pragmatischer Sicht", Skandinavistik 12 (1982), 12-21. Cf. s.a., "Die mündliche Vorstufe der altnordischen Prosaerzählkunst", Annales Universitatis Saraviensis, Philosophie-Lettres, 10 (1961), 163-178.
7. Skandinavistik 12 (1982), 14.

8. Another, less striking example of a sudden modulation into direct speech is found a few lines earlier in the same passage:

Sthom. 56/33 - 57/2:

...En þa qvomo austr vegs konungar
 til iorsala. oc spurþo herodes
 konvng hvar boreN meonde vera
 konungr gyþinga. ["]Sóþm vér
 stiorno hans i austre oc fþórom
 afþui at gæfga hann.["]...

Matt. 2:1-2:

...ecce Magi ab oriente venerunt
 Ierosolymam, dicentes: Ubi est
 qui natus est rex Iudaeorum? vid-
 imus enim stellam eius in oriente,
 et venimus adorare eum.

And breathless, paratactic sentence-sequences, uninterrupted by conjunctions, are found throughout the pericope:

57/2-5:

...Herodes varþ hryGr víþ oc
allt fólc hans með honom. Sam-
næpe saman ællom hófþingiom
keNemanna oc ritmonnom. fráte
þa síþan hvar crístr mǫnde
berasc...

Matt.2:3-4:

Audiens autem Herodes rex, turbatus est,
et omnis Ierosolyma cum illo. Et con-
gregans omnes principes sacerdotum,
et scribas populi, sciscitabatur ab
eis ubi Christus nasceretur.

57/17-20 (note change of tense):

...Stiárnan fór fyrer þeim uNz
hon kom yver þat hús er sveineN
var í. þeir fognobo mloc es
þeir só hana. Ganga síþan í
húset iN. hitta þar sveineN oc
móþor hans marío. Falla til
íarþar oc lutu honom. Feorþo
honom síþan góþar gǫrsemar...

Matt. 2:9-11:

...et ecce stella, quam viderant in
oriēte, antecedeabant eos, usque dum
veniens staret supra, ubi erat puer.
Videntes autem stellam gavisi sunt
gaudio magno valde. Et intrantes
domum, invenerunt puerum cum Maria
matre eius, et procidentes adorav-
erunt eum: et apertis thesauris suis
obtulerunt ei munera...

For some examples of similar passages in the Nhom. Olaf-legend, see below, n. 72.

9. Skandinavistik 12 (1982), 15: "...ihre sprachlichen Möglichkeiten gezielt verwendeten im Sinne eines eigenen Stils".
10. Ibid., 14.
11. Von See, "Das Problem der mündlichen Erzählprosa im Altnordischen", Skandinavistik 11 (1981), 90-91. He refers in particular to W. Schröder's study, "Übergänge aus oratio obliqua in oratio recta bei Wolfram von Eschenbach", Festschrift für Ingeborg Schröbler. Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur, 95, Sonderheft [1973], 70-92. On the alternation of direct and indirect speech in saga-style see also, e.g., M. Jeffrey, The Discourse in Seven Ice-landic Sagas (1934), 20-27; I. Netter, Die Direkte Rede in den Isländersagas, Form und Geist 36 (1935). Bernadette Maloney, "A Further Anglo-Saxon Trait in the Narrative Style of Ælfric's Lives of Saints", Notes and Queries 224 (1979), 498-500, examines some

examples of the same phenomenon in Old English and concludes (499) that "it was undoubtedly from his native tradition that Ælfric adopted this feature". She adds (500) that the phenomenon "hardly merits the title of a 'stylistic device'; C.L. Wrenn's description -- 'a colloquial trait' -- is perhaps more appropriate, since the flexibility the feature betrays is perhaps more typical of the spoken rather than the written word". (Cf. Wrenn, "A Saga of the Anglo-Saxons", History 25 [1940-41], 212, where he refers to the sudden switch from indirect to direct speech towards the end of the "Cynewulf and Cyneheard" entry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Parker ms. sub anno 755, ed. J. Earle and C. Plummer, Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel [1892-99, rpt. 1972], 48/24-26.) In most cases, however, the device is clearly used for dramatic effect, and it is easier to imagine its cultivation in literature (or, at least, in oral narrative) than as a feature of colloquial speech. (See Schröder, 78 ["...ein-erlaubtes und brauchbares Stilmittel literarischer Sprache..."]; Von See, 91; and further examples of the device from the Homily Books, cited below, p. 13.)

On changes of tense in OWN narrative prose see, e.g., U. Sprenger, Praesens Historicum und Praeteritum in der altisländischen Saga. Ein Beitrag zur Frage Freiprosa-Buchprosa. Basler Studien zur deutschen Literatur, Hft. 11 (1951) (cf. review by Jakob Benediktsson, Skírnir 125 [1951] 239-241); M.C. van den Toorn, "Zeit und Tempus in der isländischen Saga", ANF 76 (1961), 134-152; C.C. Rokkjær, "Om Tempusblandingene i islandsk prosa indtil 1250", ANF 78 (1963), 197-216; P. Hallberg, Stilsignalement och Författarskap i Norrön Sagalitteratur, Nordistica Gothoburgensia 3 (1968), 61-79.

12. Von See, op. cit., 91.

13. The terms Freiproza and Buchproza were first used by Andreas Heusler ("Die Anfänge der Isländischen Saga", Abhandlungen der königliche Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Classe [1913], 53-55). For synopses of the arguments presented by both "camps" see Jón Helgason, Norrøn Litteraturhistorie (1934) 109-120; T.M. Andersson, The Problem of Icelandic Saga Origins. Yale Germanic Studies I (1964), 65-81.

14. See Hofmann, Skandinavistik 12 (1982), 14.

15. See K. Vrátný, "Textkritische Nachlese zum Stockholmer Homilienbuch" ANF 33 (1917), 146; van Arkel, 13.

16. Although the use of the "descriptive genitive" is not confined to OWN texts written in lærd stil, Nygaard, Norrøn Syntax § 127, Anm. 1, notes that "mere paafaldende forbindelser" of the type found here are more common in poetry and "learned" prose texts.

17. On participial constructions in lærd stil see Marius Nygaard, "Om brugen af det saakaldte præsens particip i oldnorsk", ANOH (1879), 203-28; s.a., "Den lærde stil i den norrøne prosa", Sproglig-historiske Studier tilegnede Professor C.R. Unger, 155-161; s.a., Norrøn Syntax (1906, rpt. 1966), §§ 229-247; Tveitane, Den lærde stil, 54-56. In his recent critical examination of Nygaard's theory of "learned" and "popular" styles in OWN literature ("Learned style or saga style?", Specvlvm Norroenvm. Norse Studies in Memory of Gabriel Turville-Petre [1981], 260-292), Jónas Kristjánsson has argued that neither the use of the present participle in phrases resembling the Latin "passive periphrastic" construction (in the passage cited here, cf. þess er oss leitaNda = quaerendum nobis est, merkianda er oss = notandum) nor the use of the past participle in apposition with a noun governed by the preposition at (cf. at þornom

lausnera orom = Redemptore nato) can be regarded as a distinguishing feature of lærd stil. In this homily, however, such participial constructions occur so frequently in imitation of Latin phrases that influence from the Latin model cannot be doubted. (Cf. Sthom. 58/2 oss er þeckiaanda = PL 76, 1111A considerandum nobis est; 58/3 at bornom drótna oc deyianda = 1111A nascente Domino vel moriente; 58/9 at honom deyianda = 1111A eo moriente; 58/32 fuNdo boreN dróttin = 1111C-D natum Regem reperiunt; 59/9-10 Vér scolom goll feóre bornom drótna orom = 1113A Nos itaque nato Domino offeramus aurum. Contrast, however, 58/1 meþan hann var mál lauss at líkams aldre = 1111A necdum loquentem; 59/15 at þui er salomón sagþe = 1113B Salomon attestante; 59/17 at þui er dauid sagþe = 1113B Psalm-ista testante; 59/32 alz vér keNdom iesum = 1113C Jesu cognito.)

18. On the substantive use of adjectives in OWN see Nygaard, "Den lærde stil i den norrøne prosa", 167; Norrøn Syntax §§ 53-56; C.E. Thors, "Substantivering av adjektiv i fornsvenskan", Studier i Nordisk Filologi 36-38 (1949), 28-153; Walter, Lex. Lehn., 50-53. Jónas Kristjánsson, op. cit., 286-288, argues that "it is not foreign to popular style to use adjectives substantivally"; Thors, however, demonstrates "att de substantiverade adjektiven, i synnerhet de maskulina, äro sällsynta i folkelig prosa i fornvästnordiskan" (111). He also notes that "det substantiverade adjektivet har väsentligen utvecklats i religiös prosa" (see Walter, 51ff. for OWN examples).
19. On this passage see below, ch. four, pp. 524ff.
20. On the predilection for substantives in texts written in the "learned style" see Tveitane, Den lærde stil, 88-92; Walter, Lex. Lehn., 137-138. See also A. Jakobsen, Norrøne Adjektivsabstrakter på -leikr (-leiki) og deres latinske motsvarigheter (1969); cf. additional notes by Ernst Walter, Medieval Scandinavia 5 (1972), 34ff.

21. At times, the homilist's colloquial renderings are at once more lucid and more forceful than the Latin. Cf., e.g.,

58/7-8:	1111A:
Hafet kende hann. þuiat þat <u>spratt eige vndan fótom hans</u> <u>þa er hann geck yver þat.</u>	Mare cognovit, quia <u>sub</u> <u>plantis ejus se calcabile</u> <u>præbuit.</u>
58/9-10:	1111A:
Sólen kende hann. þuiat <u>hon</u> <u>gerpe eige skína.</u>	Sol cognovit, quia <u>lucis</u> <u>suæ radios abscondit.</u>
58/26-27:	1111C:
herodes snøresc <u>til slógþra</u> <u>bragþa...</u>	Herodes <u>ad callida argumenta</u> convertitur...

22. It is also interesting to compare his "capping" of Gregory's alliterative phrase, celsitudo cælestis (1110C), with an apt Icelandic equivalent, himnesc hēþ (57/26; for similar phrases in the Homily Books, see below, pp. 108-9). Other alliterative tags in the Icelandic text find no parallel in the Latin (cf. 57/20, gópar gørsemar = Matt. 2:11 munera; 59/16, Girnleg gørseme = 1113B Thesaurus desiderabilis [Prov. 21:20, Vetus Latina; cf. alternative OWN translations of the phrase cit. Kirby, Biblical Quotation, I.85 -- Alc. VV, Nhom. 10/3, Þæccileg fe-hirzla; Sthom. 81/26-27, Nhom. 60/31-32, Fyseleg gollhirpsla; Ísl. Æv. 244, Girnilig fèhirzla]; 59/34 bergþom baNæpre feózo = 1113D cibum vetitum gustando; 59/36 hofnon heimseNs = 1113D visibilia contemnendo [on alliteration in the parallel passage at Nhom. 63/30-34 see below, n.81]; 60/1 fyr sút oc sǫrg = 1113D per lamenta).
23. Nhom. 61/10 - 65/3, "Secundum Matheum. Jn epiphania". No single source has yet been discovered for this text; Erik Gunnes (168-169) refers to parallel passages in sermons for Epiphany by Haymo

(of Auxerre), Maximus of Turin, Honorius, and Gregory.

24. Cf. the version of the passage found in Maríu saga (31/13-16 [370/9-12], cit. Kirby, Biblical Quotation I. 135-136):

...Siðan vísaði Herodes þessom .iii. konungom til Bethleem ok mællti svá við konungana, at þeir skyldi hann finna, þá er þeir færi aptr, ok sagðiz hann ok þeim sveini fórnir vilja færa...

Note the Nhom. translator's use of alliteration to emphasize his aside: "ok hædde at í hug sér".. With the "asyndetic" sentence-sequences of the Sthom. gospel narrative one can compare this translator's insistent, and rather ingenuous repetition of the introductory phrase En siðan (Nhom. 61/30 - 62/17):

En siðan er Heroðes høyrði mál þeirra ... En siðan callaðe hann konunga löynilega til sín ... En siðan bauð hann þeim at fara til Bethleem ... En siðan er hann hafðe við þa røð ... En siðan er þeir sæ stíornuna standa kyrra ... En siðan færðo þeir honum gíafar ... En siðan er þeir hurfu aptr...

Similar introductory phrases and connectives (especially en and nú) are regularly used by the homilists to buoy up the rhythm of their prose. The author of a Lenten sermon in Sthom., for instance, punctuates his "historical survey" of fasting with the adverbial phrase en efter þat (104/33 - 105/16):

...þa eptr þat þa þ moyses...þa for Moysés fra æþrom monnom upp a fiáll oc fastaþe...en efter þat gaf guþ lægmál þat... þat var myclo síþaR er sa maþr. er helias hét fastaþe... En efter þat nam guþ hann fra æþrom monnom i fognob paradisar...EN síþarst prýðde þeira fæsto...síálfr guþ dróttEN vár...Efter þat er hann hafþe skírn teket...þa geck hann i eyþe morc...en eptr þat kom díofull at freísta hans...

Throughout the rest of the homily less obtrusive (though equally consistent) use is made of the connectives en and nú. In the Nhom. Olaf-legend alone, so-called "epic" nú occurs 48 times, occasionally attached to other temporal formulas:

Nhom. 116/2-3:

Nu á stund noccere um dag
æin þa sofnæðe hann í
kirkiu...

Ibid., 117/32-33:

Nu síðan eptir á æðrum dægi
þa fecc hann umm síðir dur
noccorn.

Ibid., 124/3-4:

Nu á næsta dægi eptir þegar
þa var hotiðar-dagr þess
hælga konungs...

cf. F. Metcalfe, ed., Passio et Mir-
acula Beati Olai [1881], 79/19-80/1:
Cum ergo... aliquanto perseuerasset
tempore, hora quadam placido sopore
resolutus quiescebat...

cf. Ibid., 81/25-26:

...postero tandem die soporis
quiete resoluitur.

cf. Ibid., 88/23-24:

Erat namque die sequenti ipsius
martiris uotiva solempnitas...

(For general remarks on the use of nú in OWN prose see Sigurður Nordal and Guðni Jónsson, ed. Heiðarvíga saga, ÍF 3 [2nd ed., 1957], cxxxiii; Hallberg, Stilsignalement..., 31-35; Jónas Kristjánsson, Um Fóstbræðrasögu [1972], 166, 170-171; J.E. Knirk, Oratory in the Kings' Sagas [1981], 72.)

The homilists also occasionally make use of stock introductory formulas reminiscent of saga-narrative. Cf., e.g.:

Sthom. 96/27-29:

Nu scal þar til máls taca es mest fylger eN þessu er nú
es mælt áþr. oc fyR vas getit nacqvát. er eN helge iób es...

Sthom. 3/27-28:

En þar er til máls at taka fra Mario at segia eða of hana
at róða. at faþer hennar hét ioakim en aNa móþer.

25. Cf. the more literal OWN renderings of these verses cited by Kirby, Biblical Quotation I, 219-220. No sources have yet been identified for the earlier part of the Annunciation sermon which contains the passage cited here (cf. van Arkel, 15; Kirby, Biblical Quotation II. 58; part of the sermon, though not this passage, is also preserved in the early-thirteenth-century ms. AM 686b 4to; cf. Leifar 178-179; 174-175). On the use of alliteration in the translation of the

Magnificat in this sermon (Sthom. 140/4-17), see below, p. 88.

26. On this metaphor, see below, pp. 332ff.

27. Cf. independent translations cited by Kirby, Biblical Quotation

I. 220-221, 223-225. Changes of tense permeate the gospel narrative in this sermon. Cf., e.g.,

Sthom. 10/29 - 11/1:

...En þa er kom at hleyfite zacharias at fremia biscops embette. þa feR hann til templum domini at bera þar reykelset. En aþrer meN stópo a beónom vti meþan hann bar reykelset. þa sér hann engel guþs til heógre haNdar. en ótte mikill fylgþe syn engelsens.

11/16-17:

...Síþan fór zacharias heim. oc vitiapþe kono siNar. þa verþr elisabép hafande. oc leýnde hon þvi .v. monþr...

13/22-28:

...þa let herodes taka ioan oc setia i myrqvastofu. Síþan fyllesc hann þess ofmetnapar. at hann heldr burþar tíþ sína... En er manþþet þréfsc þa léc mēren vel fyr konunge oc þoþsmonnom. þa mæler herodes við meyna. Kióstþu þaz þu vill at leiks launom. oc mun ec veita þer...

Luke 1:8:

Factum est autem, cum sacerdotio fungeretur in ordine vicis suae ante Deum, secundum consuetudinem sacerdotii, sorte exiit ut incensum poneret, ingressus in templum Domini: et omnis multitudo populi erat orans foris hora incensi. Apparuit autem illi angelus Domini, stans a dextris altaris incensi. Et Zacharias turbatus est videns, et timor irruiit super eum.

Luke 1:23-24:

Et factum est, ut impleti sunt dies officii eius, abiit in domum suam: post hos autem dies concepit Elisabeth uxor eius, et occultabat se mensibus quinque...

Mark 6:17, 21-22:

Ipse enim Herodes misit, ac tenuit Ioannem, et vinxit eum in carcere... Et cum dies oppotunus accidisset, Herodes natalis sui coenam fecit... cumque introduisset filia ipsius Herodiadis, et saltasset, et placuisset Herodi, simulque recumbentibus; rex ait puellae: Pete a me quod vis, et dabo tibi...

And many other passages are remarkable for their "rough-hewn" phraseology. Cf., e.g.,

12/26-36:

...þau sette hann róp víp ofáte at hafa þat eítt til feótslo sér. er solíteNa manna matr bótte vera. Føgla þa veídde hann sér til handa er locuste ero kallaper.* oc drack þar víp vatn eþa skógar hunang. þui er kallat beis[k]t at bergia. En víp þat er hann gerþesc slíkr afburþar maþr. þa lægþo meN a hann þa virþing at þeir fáro til fundar víp hann oc spurþo ef hann vere cristr. En víp svar þau er hann svaraþe lýsesc yfir þui. i hver- iom crafte litellátteseNs hann stóp. Eige em ek cristr qvaþ hann. en stendr sa a meþal yþvar. er ek véra þeyge verþr at leýsa scó- þveng hans. þót ec læga allr víp iorþo rakeþr fyr honom...

cf. Matt. 3:4 (Mark 1:6):

Ipse autem Ioannes habebat vestimentum de pilis camelorum, et zonam pelliceam circa lumbos suos: esca autem eius erat locustae, et mel silvestre.

cf. Matt. 3:5 (Mark 1:5):

Tunc exhibat ad eum Ierosyòlyma, et omnis Iudaea, et omnis regio circa Iordanem...

cf. John 1:20:

...et confessus est: Quia non sum ego Christus.

John 1:26:

...medius autem vestrum stetit...

Mark 1:7 (cf. John 1:27):

...cuius non sum dignus procumbens solvere corrigiam calceamentorum eius.

*Locusts are also referred to as fuglar in Stjórn (393/21) and in Grímr Hólmsteinsson's Jóns saga baptista II (Post. 872/8ff.).

On the very long-lived debate over whether John's locustae were a species of insect or a type of plant (cf., again, Grímr's discussion, Post. 872-873) see J.E. Cross, "Blickling Homily XIV and the Old English Martyrology on John the Baptist", Anglia 93 [1975], 150, nn. 16-18.

13/7-14:

... Joan ðapesc oc leít at sa var komeN. er hann þurpte at huivetna, en sa þurfte hans at engo. oc svaraþe. Hui ertu komeN til mín þars ec em þráll þiN. en þu ert drotteN miN. oc áþu mik

cf. Matt. 3:13-15:

Tunc venit Iesus a Galilaea in Iordanem ad Ioannem, ut baptizaretur ab eo. Ioannes autem prohibebat eum, dicens: Ego a te debeo baptizari, et tu venis ad me? Respondens autem Iesus, dixit ei:

at skíra synþgan en þu ert synþa Sine modo: sic enim decet nos
 lass. Sva scolom vit gera alt implere omnem iustitiam.
 sem batst er qvaþ ieselus. oc
 scaldu skíra mik i vatneno. fyr
þui at vøtnen þurfo helgonar.* Ða
 bar ioan þat vitni iesu at þar John 1:29:
 megopér nú qvaþ hann sia þaN ...Ecce agnus Dei...
gups gymbel. er a braut tekr
 synþer heimseNs.**

*For a less laconic treatment of this theme cf. Sthom. 79/28ff.
 (Nhom. 58/29ff., based on Ps. Aug. 135 [now attributed to Maximus
 of Turin, cf. Clavis Patrum, 1006], PL 39, 2012D, and Ps. Aug.
 136 [now attributed to Faustus of Riez, cf. Clavis Patrum 1006];
 see Gunnes 168, van Arkel 14; cf. too Nhom. 64/12-14).

**Cf. Sthom. 50/6, "A þesse tíþ var boreN sá gups Gymbell er
 a braut tóc meín heimseNs." (= Ps. Aug. 117 [now attributed to
 Sedatus of Nîmes, cf. Clavis Patrum, 1006], PL 39, 1977/25-26,
 "...in qua nascitur Agnus, qui tollit peccatum mundi"). The
 usual OWN rendering of agnus dei was lamb guós; see Kirby,
Biblical Quotation I, 282.

28. No sources have yet been found for this sermon. See Kirby, Biblical Quotation I. 332-333 for some other OWN versions of Acts 2:1ff. Cf. esp. the laconic aside in the paraphrase of Acts 2:6 at Nhom.93/22-23:

...høyrðu þeir postola mæla hvesconar mæl. hværr kendi
 sit mæl ok sins lanz tunga sem vón er at.

Trygve Knudsen admires a similarly "unadorned" account of
 Christ's ascension in Nhom. for its "enkel og likefrem muntlighet"
 and its "farve av hjemlig fortellemåte" (CCNME, Quarto Serie, I
 [1952], 6; Gunnes[173] points out that a close Latin analogue for
 the passage is found in the entry for Ascension Day in Honorius'
Speculum Ecclesiae, PL 172, 957C-D; cf. especially Honorius' use
 of homoioteleuton with the Norwegian homilist's straightforward
 paratactic periods):

Nhom. 90/10-17:

...Hann syndisc postolom sinum ok	...Discipulis suis hodie ad
aðrum láresveinum þan dag þa er	convivium recumbentibus apparens,
þeir sátu yfir mat ok avitaða þa.	incredulitatem illorum ut magister
<u>því at þeir væro tortryggvir</u>	<u>increpavit</u> , Evangelium in universo
sumir up-risu hans sva sem Thom-	<u>munde eos</u> prædicare ut Dominus im-
as var ok sumir aðrer. <u>ok</u> bauð	<u>peravit</u> , signa in nomine ejus [fac-
þeim siðan at þeir scylðu talia	iendi] potestatem ut Deus <u>donavit</u> .
retta trv fyrir mannum ...* gaf	Deinde ad probandam veræ carnis
þeim vald at gera iartæinar.	naturam cum eis comedit, ut in
<u>Siðan</u> mataðesc hann með þeim ok	Hierosolimis promissum Spiritum
for með þeim í Bethaniam. <u>ok</u> for	sanctum expectarent præcepit. Post
upp í loptet ok siðan í himin	hæc in Bethaniam eos eduxit et
fyrir ollumm þeim. <u>ok</u> gaf þeim	elevatis manibus eos benedixit:
aðr blezan sina...	cumque videntibus elevatur ac nube
	susceptus in cælum ferebatur...

*Indrebø's insertion of an <ok> not found in the ms. here is probably unnecessary.

It is also interesting to compare the use of a turn of phrase familiar from saga-literature in the sermon "Nativitas sancte Marie" in Sthom. The passage is a free rendering of a verse from the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew:

Sthom. 131/33-36:

...mon verða sva mikill fyr sér
at hans vegr oc tígn mon vera
uppi meþan veröld sia er byGp.
oc mono allar þióper þær er
byGva i heime þessom oc sva et
sama i æþrom veröldom dyrka
hann at eilifo.

Pseudo-Matthaei Evangelium, cap.
2, §3, ed. Tischendorf, Evangelia
Apocrypha [1876, rpt. 1966], 57/6-7:
...quod ex te natum fuerit, erit in
admirationem omnibus seculis usque
in finem.

(Cf., e.g., Gizurr Teitsson's praise of Gunnar's defence, Njáls s., k.77, fF 12 [1954], 191/2-3: "...mun hans vörn uppi, meðan landit er byggt".)

29. Skandinavistik 12 (1982), 13.
30. Ibid., 13.
31. Epistula 57.5.2-5, ed. I. Hilberg, CSEL 54 (1910, rpt. 1949), 508/9 - 510/2 (Jerome cites Cicero, De optimo genere oratorum, 5.13-14; Horace, De Arte Poetica 133-134). In a later passage in the same letter, Jerome attacks Aquila of Pontus, who in his verbatim Greek translation of the Old Testament (completed c. 140) "...non solum verba, sed etymologias uerborum transferre conatus est..." (57.11, Ibid., 523/14-15). For a thorough discussion of the letter and its background see G.J.M. Bartelink, Hieronymus. Liber de Optimo Genere Interpretandi (Epistula 57). Ein Kommentar. Mnemosyne. Bibliotheca Classica Batava (1980), passim. On classical and early Christian methods of translation in general see Georges Cuendet, "Cicéron et St Jérôme traducteurs", Revue des Études Latines 11 (1933), 380-400; Franz Blatt, "Remarques sur l'histoire des traductions latines", Classica et Mediaevalia I (1938), 217-242; Otto Springer, "Otfrid von Weissenburg: Barbarismus et Soloecismus: Studies in the Medieval Theory and Practice of Translation", Symposium I, no. 2 (1947), 54-81; Eric Jacobsen, Translation a Traditional Craft, Classica et Mediaevalia. Dissertationes VI (1958), 43ff., 96ff; Christine Mohrmann, Études sur le Latin des Chrétiens, III, Storia e letteratura 65 (1958), 148ff.
32. PL 28, 1139B. Similarly, when working from older Latin versions of Scripture, Jerome made a practice of revising the received texts only when they distorted the original sense of a passage. Cf., e.g., the "Præfatio in quattuor euangelia Beatissimo Papæ Damaso" (PL 29, 528A):

...Quæ ne multum a lectionis latinæ consuetudine

discreparent, ita calamo temperavimus, ut his tantum
quæ sensum videbantur mutare, correctis, reliqua manere
pateremur ut fuerant.

33. Epistula 106.29, CSEL 55 (1912, rpt. 1961), 261/4-5. Cf.

Epistula 114.3, ad Theophilum Papam, CSEL 55 (1912, rpt. 1961),
395/17-20:

...neque uero, ut disertī interpretes faciunt, uerbum
uerbo reddidi...sed pariter appendi, ut nihil desit ex
sensibus, cum aliquid desit ex uerbis.

See also his succinct formulation of the translator's dilemma in
his Interpretatio Chronicae Eusebii (PL 27, 34A-35A):

...Difficile est enim, alienas lineas insequentem non
alicubi excidere; arduum, ut quae in aliena lingua bene
dicta sunt, eundem decorem in translatione conseruent...
Si ad uerbum interpretor, absurde resonat; si ob
necessitatem aliquid in ordine, vel in sermone mutauero,
ab interpretis videbor officio recessisse...

34. Cf., for instance, the following Middle English examples:

"The Epystle of Sir Iohan Treuisa, chapelayn vnto Lord Thomas
of Barkley vpon the translacion of Polycronycon into our
Englysshe tongue", cit. in Churchill Babington, ed. Poly-
chronicon Ranulphi Higden... R.S. 41, Vol. 1 (London 1865),
p. lxi, n.1:

...In somme place I shall sette word for worde, and
actyf for actyf, and passyf for passif arowe right as
it stondeth withoute chaungynge of the ordre of wordes;
but in somme place I must chaunge the ordre of wordes,
and sette actyf for passyf and ayenward; and in somme
place I muste sette a reson for a worde, and telle what
it meneth; but for al such chaungynge the menyng shal
stande and not be chaunged...

Robert Steele, ed. Three Prose Versions of the Secreta Secret-
orum I, E.E.T.S., E.S. 74. (London 1898), Part 2: "The Governance
of Lordschipes, MS. Lambeth 501: A 15th Century Translation of
the Secreta Secretorum (soon after 1400) [Epistle dedicatory]",

pp. 41-42:

...þys booke þat latyns wantyd and ys founden with
fewe arabyes I haue translatyd with greet trauaille
ynto opyn vnderstandynge of latyn out of þe langage
of araby, to zoure heghnesse and worschipe som tyme
expounande letter of letter, and som tyme vndirstandynge
of vndirstondynge, ffor other maner of spekyng ys with
arabys & oper with Latyns.

John Lydgate, The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man Englisht...
from the French of Guillaume de Deguileville, A.D. 1335.

ed. F.J.Furnivall, Vol. I, E.E.T.S., E.S. 77 (London 1899),

"Prolog", pp.4-5, ll. 144-149:

I wyl translate hyt sothly as I kan,
After the lettre, in ordre effectuelly.
Thogh I not folwe the wordēs by & by,
I schal not faillē teuchyng the substance.

Osbern Bokenam's Legenden, ed. C. Horstmann. Altenglische
Bibliothek I (Heilbronn 1883), vi. "Agnes", p.119, ll. 678-683:

...Aftyr þe wrytyng of sent Ambrose
Whom fully to folwyn was my purpose,
Not wurde for wurde - for þat ne may be
In no translacyoun, aftyr Jeromys decre -
But fro sentence to sentence, I dar wele seyn,
I hym haue folwyde euene by & by...

The word-for-word translation continued, of course, to thrive,
especially under the irresistible influence of the interlinear gloss.
Augustine had suggested (De Doctrina Christiana II.13.19, CCSL 32,
44/8 - 45/10) that verbatim renderings of Scripture were valuable as
study-aids "...non quia sufficiunt, sed ut ex eis libertas uel error
dirigatur aliorum, qui non magis uerba quam sententias interpretando
sequi maluerunt". Most assessments of the culpa fidei interpretis
tended, however, to be less benign. Gregory the Great complains
bitterly in one of his letters of those "faithful" translators who
succeed only in garbling the sense of their originals and confusing
their readers (Registrvm Epistvlarvm, ed. D. Norberg, CCSL 140A

[1982], x.21, 855/112-116):

Indicamus praeterea quia grauem hic interpretum
difficultatem patimur. Dum enim non sunt, qui sensum
de sensu exprimant sed transferre uerborum semper
proprietaem uolunt, omnem dictorum sensum confundunt.
Vnde agitur ut ea quae translata fuerint nisi cum
gravi labore intellegere nullomodo ualeamus.

Similarly, Pope Nicholas the First († 867), in a letter to
Emperor Michael III of Constantinople, reviles those Latin trans-
lators who pervert their own language by following their Greek
originals too closely (PL 119, 932C):

...si [Latinam] linguam ideo barbaram nuncupatis,
quoniam a translatoribus in Graecam dictionem mutata
barbarismos generat, non linguæ Latinæ, sed culpa
est, ut opinamur, interpretum, qui quando necesse
est non sensum e sensu, sed violenter verbum edere
conantur e verbo.

On literal translation in the middle ages see W. Schwarz, "The
Meaning of Fidus Interpres in Medieval Translation", The Journal
of Theological Studies 45 (1944), 73-78. In suggesting, however
(73), that "...the word-for-word method of translation became the
predominant, if not the only method during the Middle Ages", and
that "a new principle of translation, that according to sense" was
introduced by Italian translators of the Quattrocento, Schwarz takes
into consideration only medieval Latin translations from Greek and
ignores the very rich tradition of "liberal" translation in the
vernacular in the middle ages.

35. See H. Sweet, ed., King Alfred's West-Saxon of Gregory's Pastoral
Care, E.E.T.S., O.S. 45, 50 [1871, rpt. 1958], 6/19-20; W.J. Sedge-
field, ed., King Alfred's Old English Version of Boethius De
Consolatione Philosophiae (1899), 1/2-3. Cf. Dorothy Whitelock's

remarks on the amplified renderings of parts of Genesis in Alfred's laws ("The Prose of Alfred's Reign", in E.G. Stanley, ed., Continuations and Beginnings [1966], 95ff.).

Asser invokes Alfred's (and Jerome's) formula in praising another text commissioned by Alfred, Wærferth of Worcester's translation of Gregory's Dialogues (Asser's Life of King Alfred, ed. W.H. Stevenson [2nd ed., 1959], cap. 77, 62/6-10):

...libros Dialogorum Gregorii ... de Latinitate primus in Saxoniam linguam, aliquando sensum ex sensu ponens, elucabratim et elegantissime interpretatus est...

It is odd to hear Wærferth's painstakingly literal version of the Dialogues described as a "sense for sense" translation; but it is interesting to note that Gregory also makes use of the commonplace in explaining how he adapts the accounts of his oral informants:

Hans Hecht, ed., Bischof Wærferths von Worcester Übersetzung der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen, Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Prosa 5 (1900-07), 9/4-19:

de Vogüé, ed. Dialogues 2, I. Prol., 10, 16/84 - 18/91:
...Sed ut dubitationis occasionem legentibus subtraham, per singula quae describo, quibus mihi haec auctoribus sint conperta manifesto. Hoc uero scire te cupio, quia in quibusdam uero et uerba cum sensu teneo, quia si de personis omnibus ipsa specialiter uerba tenere uoluisssem, haec rusticano usu prolata stylus scribentis non apte susciperet.

...swa ic eac will animam J ateon fram þam, þe þas boc rædað, þone intingan ælcra tweonze at ælcum þara spella, þe ic write, J ic þæt ȝecyþe, at hwilcum ordfruman ic ȝeacsode, þa þe ic secȝe. ic wille, Petrus, þæt þu wite, þæt ic nime in sumum þæt andȝyt an J in sumum þa word mid þy andȝyte: forþon ȝif ic be eallum þam hadum synderlice þa word animan wolde, þonne wæron hi forðbrohte ceorlisce ðeawe, J hi na seo hand J þæt ȝewrit þas writendan swa ȝecoplice ne onfenzce.

Unfortunately, this passage is omitted in the only ms. preserving an OI version of this section of Gregory's Dialogues (AM 239 fol.

[fourteenth century]; this part of the translation in AM 677 4to has not survived; cf. HMS I, 180/30ff.)

It is also interesting to compare Bede's apology for his Latin translation of Caedmon's hymn (Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People, ed. B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors [1969], 416/18-22):

Hic est sensus, non autem ordo ipse uerborum, quae dormiens ille canebat; neque enim possunt carmina, quamuis optime composita, ex alia in aliam linguam ad verbum sine detrimento sui decoris ac dignitatis transferri.

36. Pastoral Care, ed. cit., 6/20-22.
37. The Old English Version of the Heptateuch, Ælfric's Treatise on the Old and New Teatament and his Preface to Genesis, ed. S.J. Crawford, E.E.T.S., O.S. 160 (1922, rpt. 1969), 79/95 - 80/101.
38. Ibid., 80/113-114.
39. Nichols, "Ælfric's Prefaces: Rhetoric and Genre", English Studies 49 (1968), 221; cf. s.a. "Awendan: A Note on Ælfric's Vocabulary", JEGP 63 (1964), 7-13. Harvey Minkoff ("Some Stylistic Consequences of Ælfric's Theory of Translation", Studies in Philology 73 [1976], 29-41; "Latin Influence on Ælfric's Translation Style", Neophilologus 61 [1977], 127-42) presents further evidence that in his Old Testament translations Ælfric adopts a "translation style" distinct from his freer "personal style" in an attempt to remain faithful to the "spiritual depth" of Scripture.
40. Cf. de Vries, op. cit., 73-74:

Wenn ... die Predigt in der Volkssprache gehalten wurde, so dürfte es einleuchtend sein, daß der Geistliche danach bestrebt war, seine religiösen, dogmatischen, oder ethischen

Betrachtungen seinen Zuhörern näher zu bringen, indem er sich in einer Sprachform ausdrückte, die dem Volk geläufig war.

Hofmann, Skandinavistik 12 (1982), 14:

...eine Anpassung an die allen Isländern aus mündlichem Gebrauch vertraute Erzählweise ... war auch für Geistliche legitim und sogar geboten, wenn sie Menschen, die die Heilige Schrift nicht selbst lesen und verstehen konnten, mit deren Geschichten vertraut machen wollten.

41. Enarrationes in Psalmos 138:20, CCSL 40, 2004/20.7-9. Cf. his punning formulation of the same idea, Ibid., 36:3, CCSL 38, 371/6.4-5, "Melius in barbarismo nostro uos intelligitis, quam in nostra diseritudine uos deserti eritis". See also De Doctrina Christiana IV.10.24-25, CCSL 32, 132-134. On the Christian ideal of rusticitas in writing and preaching see, e.g., G. Bartelink, "Sermo Piscatorius. De 'Visserstaal' van de Apostelen", Studia Catholica 35 (1960), 267-73; Pierre Riché, Education and Culture in the Barbarian West, trans. J.J. Contreni (1976, rpt. 1978), 89ff.
42. See Hans Bekker-Nielsen, "Caesarius af Arles som kilde til norrøne homilier", Bibl. Arn. 25.2 (1961), 10-16; s.a. "Caesarius and Stjórn", in J.M. Weinstock, ed., Saga og Språk [Hollander Festschrift] (1972), 39-44.
43. Caesarius, sermo 86, CCSL 103, 353 [338/6-10]. This passage and others like it from Caesarius' sermons are discussed by Riché, op. cit., 92ff. Henry G. Beck (The Pastoral Care of Souls in South-East France during the Sixth Century, Analecta Gregoriana 51 [1950], 264) notes that Caesarius' biographers "praise his knack of hitting upon everyday examples to make clear his thought to the flock he fed. Why he used such devices is told to us by himself [sic]: he wanted

the faithful to mull over what they had heard in church and to talk among themselves of the lessons he had given them" (cf. Vita Caesarii, ed. G. Morin, S. Caesarii...opera omnia II [1942], 302; sermons 6, CCSL 103, 35 [37/17ff.]; 7, Ibid., 37 [39/4ff.]; 8, Ibid., 42 [44/3ff.]; 69, Ibid., 294 [281/27ff.]). The accessibility and want of pretension of Caesarius' own style doubtless contributed to the popularity of his sermons as sources for vernacular preachers. See, e.g., G. Morin, "The homilies of Caesarius of Arles, their influence on the Christian civilization of Europe", Orate Fratres 14 (1940), 481-486; G. Bardy, "La prédication de S. Césaire d'Arles", Revue d'histoire de l'église de France 29 (1943), 201-236; Bekker-Nielsen, "Caesarius and Stjórn", 42; J.B. Trahern, "Caesarius of Arles and Old English Literature: some contributions and a recapitulation", ASE 5 (1976), 105-119.

44. III.30, "Quod facili locutione uti in vulgus debeat", PL 107, 408A-C. On similar passages in later preacher's manuals see Harry Caplan, "Rhetorical Invention in Some Mediaeval Tractates on Preaching", Speculum 2 (1927), 286; "Classical Rhetoric and the Mediaeval Theory of Preaching", Classical Philology 28 (1933), 84.
45. CH II, 446/6-7. Cf., e.g., Elfric's homily for the twenty-second Sunday after Pentecost, ed. A.O. Belfour, Twelfth-Century Homilies in Ms. Bodley 343, E.E.T.S., O.S. 137 (1909, rpt. 1962), 23/28-29, "...we wullað eow sæcgan sum andgit þerto of þære trahtnunge be eowræs andgites mæde...". Elfric's phrase is reminiscent of the provisions made for the delivery of sermons in the vernacular, juxta quod intelligere vulgus possit, at, e.g., the Councils of Tours, 813 (MGH Conc. II.i.cc.4.17, p.288) and Rheims, 813 (MGH Conc. II.i.c.15, p.255; cf. Capitula e Canonibus excerpta 813,

c. 14, MGH Cap. I, 174/16-17), and the Rule of Chrodegang:

cap. 44, "De cura quam in populo sibi commissa ... habere clerici debent", PL 89, 1076C-D: cf. A.S. Napier, ed., The Old Version ... of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang, E.E.T.S., O.S. 150 [1916], 50/6-11:

...constituimus ut bis in mense	...we gesettað þæt tuwa on monþe
per totum annum...uerbum salutis	...man æfre þam folce bodige mid
ei predicetur... <u>et iuxta quod</u>	larspelle...& do ma þa larbodunge
<u>intelligere uulgus possit, ita</u>	<u>be þam þe þæt folc understandan</u>
<u>predicandum est.</u>	<u>mage.</u>

Albert Werminghoff ("Die Beschlüsse des Adchener Concils im Jahre 816", Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde 27 [1902], Anhang I, "Die Recensionen der Regula Chrodegangi", 650) is unable to identify a direct source for this section of the Rule, but notes that "die Vorschrift, dem Volke verständlich zu predigen, entspricht der Karolingerzeit", and echoes the phraseology used at the Councils mentioned above. See generally Anton Linsmayer, Geschichte der Predigt in Deutschland (1886, rpt. 1969), 7-14, "Kirchliche Vorschriften über das Predigen"; Werner Betz, "Karl der Grosse und die Lingua Theodisca", in Bernhard Bischoff, ed., Karl der Grosse: II. das geistige Leben (1965), 300-306; Rosamond McKitterick, The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms 789-895, Royal Historical Society (1977), 81ff. Note esp. McKitterick's observation (81) that:

the sermon was not only a practical means for imparting the essentials of the Christian faith and Christian social mores, but was also a direct appeal to the imagination, aesthetic sensibilities and social consciousness of the people. Potentially a powerful means of instruction, it was an attempt to make the message of the New Testament intelligible in everyday speech.

46. Literary Language and Its Public, trans. Ralph Manheim (1965), 51-52.

47. On the ambivalent attitude of the Latin Fathers toward the study of rhetoric see, e.g., Eduard Norden, Die antike Kunstprosa... (4th ed., 1923), 529ff.; A.S. Pease, "The Attitude of Jerome towards Pagan Literature", Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association 50 (1919), 150ff.; H. Hagendahl, Latin Fathers and the Classics (1958), 312ff.; H.I. Marrou, Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique (4th ed., 1958), 505-540; T.J. Haarhoff, Schools of Gaul: A Study of Pagan and Christian Education in the last century of the Western Empire (1958), 157-174; R.R. Bolgar, The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries (1954, rpt. 1977), 50ff.

The conventional nature of admissions of stylistic ineptitude or indifference to style by Christian authors in antiquity and the middle ages is also well known. See, e.g., Henri de Lubac, "Saint Grégoire et la grammaire", Recherches de Science Religieuse 48 (1960), 185-226 (on the background of Gregory's famous rejection of the regulae Donati in his letter to Leander of Seville, PL 75, 516B). On the use of the "modesty topos" and "humility formula" by Christian authors, see J. Schwietering, "Die Demutsformel mittelhochdeutscher Dichter", Abhandlungen der königliche Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse, N.F., Bd. XVII.3 (1921), 1-89, rpt. in s.a., Philologische Schriften, ed. F. Ohly and M. Wehrli (1969), 140-215; s.a., "The Origins of the Medieval Humility Formula", PMLA 69 (1954), rpt. in Philologische Schriften, 438-449; E.R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, trans. W.R. Trask (1963, rpt. 1973), 83-85, and criticisms of Schwietering, 407-413; L. Arbusow, Colores Rhetorici... (1948), 104-105. Many conventional "admissions of oratorical incapacity" are found in the Homily Books; cf., e.g., Sthom. 4/5-20; 142/38 - 143/3; Nhom. 1/10-11 (cf. PL 101, 613C); 168/13-21.

48. On Christian Doctrine, IV.2.3, trans. D.W. Robertson (1958, rpt. 1978), 118-119, cf. CCSL 32, 117/5-10:

Nam cum per artem rhetoricam et uera suadeantur et
falsa, quis audeat dicere, aduersus mendacium in
defensoribus suis inermem debere consistere ueritatem,
ut uidelicet illi, qui res falsas persuadere conantur,
nouerint auditorem uel beneuolum uel intentum uel
docilem prooemio facere, isti autem non nouerint?

49. "Saint Augustine and the 'Eloquentia'", Études sur le Latin des Chrétiens, I (1958), 363.

50. Rhetorica ad Herennium, IV.25.34, trans. H. Caplan (Loeb Classical Library, 1954, rpt. 1977), 315. See De Doctrina Christiana IV.7.11, CCSL 32, 123/10-15.

51. See De Doctrina Christiana, IV.7.13 (CCSL 32, 126/10-11, ...Deinde quattuordecim caesa decentissimo impetu profluunt).

52. Ibid., IV.7.16 (trans. Robertson, 129; cf. CCSL 32, 128/7ff., ...rusticus uel ex rustico iste propheta...).

53. "Saint Augustine and the 'Eloquentia'", 364.

54. Ibid., 365.

55. Ibid., 358; cf. Marrou, Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique, 505ff.

56. Mohrmann, Ibid., 360; cf. s.a., "Problèmes Stylistiques dans la Littérature Latine Chrétienne", Études sur le Latin des Chrétiens III (1965), 164ff.

57. Cf. Jean Leclercq, The Love of Learning and the Desire for God, trans. C. Misrahi (2nd rev. ed., 1977), 189:

...Monks, in a milieu where silence reigns, continue to practice the same genres because of the literary resources they offer. Consequently the art of speaking is applied to the writing of letters or sermons...No doubt the monks rarely studied rhetoric as theory... In this domain also, the lectio divina was the monks' school.

58. De doctrina christiana, IV.3.4 (Robertson, 119); cf. CCSL 32, 118/13-20:

Nec desunt ecclesiasticae litterae, etiam praeter canonem in auctoritatis arce salubriter conlocatum, quas legendo homo capax, etsi id non agat, sed tantummodo rebus, quae ibi dicuntur, dum in his uersatur, imbuatur accedente uel maxime exercitatione siue scribendi siue dictandi, postremo etiam dicendi, quae secundum pietatis ac fidei regulam sentit.

Cf. Alcuin's formulation of the same idea in his De Rhetorica (cit. E. Faral, Les Arts Poétiques du XIIe et du XIIIe Siècle (1944), 99, n.1):

...Legendi sunt auctorum libri eorumque bene dicta memoriae mandanda: quorum sermoni adsueta facti qui erunt, ne cupientes quidem poterunt loqui nisi ornate.

Faral (99ff.) cites further medieval examples of the recommendation that the rhetorician base his art not only on theoretical rules but also on good models.

59. CCIME VIII (1935), 20. Rudolf Meissner (Die Strengleikar [1902], 136), in discussing the salutary influence of later translations from Old French on OWN prose, notes similarly,

...Sie gab geschmeidigkeit, beweglichkeit und auf der anderen seite auch schwung und pathos, freude an der fülle des ausdrucks, an breit dahinströmenden sätzen; diese entwicklung ist lange vorbereitet durch die übersetzungen der predigten und legenden. Besonders durch die predigt musste man mit der subjektiv erregten und eindringlich gehobenen prosa vertraut werden.

Cf. Thorkild Damsgaard Olsen, "Den Høviske Litteratur", Norrøn Fortællekunst (1965), 103-104:

De høviske oversættelser fra latin og fransk skal i det hele ses som en fortsættelse af det 12. aarhundredes gejstlige oversættelsesvirksomhed... Hvad enten man oversatte latinsk litteratur eller skrev paa folkesproget, var prosaen præget af kendskab til og vilje til at udnytte den latinske retoriks figurer. De norrøne homiliebøger er fremragende eksempler paa, hvorledes den norrøne gejstlighed allerede før og omkring aar 1200 kunde skrive en kunstprosa, hvis retoriske virkemidler: rytme, allitteration, synonymfordobling, parallelismer og antiteser o.s.v. kun delvis var paavirket af og aldrig slavisk kopieret fra det latinske forlæg.

60. Origins of Icelandic Literature (1953, rpt. 1967), 142.

61. Acta Philologica Scandinavica 32 (1978), 69. For further examples of antithesis from Ágrip see G. Indrebø, "Aagrip", Edda 17 (1922), 21, n.2.

62. As Eduard Norden observes (Die antike Kunstprosa [4th ed., 1923], II. 616-617, "Die Signatur des Stils der christlichen Predigt in lateinischer Sprache ist der antithetische Satzparallelismus" (cf. II. 508ff., 621-24, 817ff.)). Christine Mohrmann ("Saint Augustine and the Eloquentia", 367) refers to W. Havers' observation (Handbuch der erklärenden Syntax [1931], 181) that "the striving after parallelism in phrases is one of the most normal expressions of a general human striving after sonority and harmony in language". Moreover, for the Christian author, parallelism is not merely a favourite mode of expression, but reflects a fundamental belief in a balanced universe (cf., e.g., Augustine's discussion, with reference to 2 Cor. 6:7-10, of the cosmic significance of the figure antithesis: De Civitate Dei XI. 18, "De pulchritudine universitatis, quae per ordinationem Dei

etiam ex contrariorum fit oppositione luculentior"). On scriptural parallelism and its Hebraic background see, e.g., Otto Eissfeldt, The Old Testament. An Introduction, trans. P.R. Ackroyd (1965, rpt. 1966), 57ff.; cf. Leonid Arbusow, Colores Rhetorici 1963, 32-33. On the habitual use of isocolon and antithesis by medieval Christian writers see also, e.g., Eric Auerbach, "Sermo Humilis", Literary Language and its Public, 27ff.; R.W. Southern, Eadmer's Life of Saint Anselm (1962), xxv-xxxiv.

63. The sentence is reminiscent, both in sound and in sense, of biblical verses like John 2:17:

Et mundus transit, et concupiscentia eius.
Qui autem facit voluntatem Dei, manet in aeternum.

and Ecclesiasticus 41:16:

Bonae vitae numerus dierum;
Bonum autem nomen permanebit in aevum.

(Cf. also I Cor. 7:31).

64. No parallel for this sentence is found in Eysteinn Erlendsson's Passio Olau (cf. Metcalfe 71/9ff.); but similar constructions, usually modelled on the Latin text, are found throughout the *Nhom*. Olaf-miracles. Cf., e.g.,

Nhom. 117/27:

...þvi allu trufastare er
hann var siucare...

127/9-11:

Siðan gerðesc hann þvi allu
guðræðare ok truare er hann
vissi sic áðr ferlegra faret
hava.

Metcalfe, 81/20-23:

...quo infirmior, eo fortior
et potens...quo miserior eo
miserabilior...

Ibid., 92/11-12:

...tanto se deuotius ad
bene agendum postmodum
erexit, quanto se uilius
delectum prius fore cognouit.

On the imitation of the Latin quo...eo/ tanto...quanto construction

in European vernacular languages see Franz Blatt, "Latin Influence on European Syntax", Classica et Mediaevalia 18 (1957), 159f.

65. As Erik Gunnes notes, this citation is not, in fact, from the Bible, but from the principal Latin source for this homily -- Caesarius, sermo 33, "De Decimis" (CCSL 103, 145/5). By introducing the adjectives naðóigr and lostigr at the end of each clause, the Scandinavian homilist preserves, and even overgoes the homoioteleuton of the Latin phrase.

66. Ole Widding ("De norrøne homiliebøgers prædiken på Stephansdag", MM [1959], 43) notes that this sentence is not paralleled in any of the Latin sources for the OWN sermon (Fulgentius, PL 65, 729ff.; Ps. Fulgentius, Ibid., 859ff.; Ps. Maximus of Turin, PL 57, 379ff. = Caes. 219, CCSL 104, 867ff.). Cf. the whole series of antitheses which forms the introduction of the sermon: Sthom. 176/32 - 177/12 (Nhom. 43/29 - 44/10).

67. Cf. p. 100 , s.v. bop oc bann.

68. As Cross has pointed out ("Elfric and the Mediaeval Homiliary. Objection and Contribution", Scripta Minora Regiae Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis 4 [1961-62], 23, n.2), the Latin model for the sermon for All Saints' Day at Sthom. 39-45 and Nhom. 143-147 was not, as Vrátný assumed (ANF 32 [1916], 40; cf. Gunnes, 181; van Arkel, 13), the pseudo-Bede homily 71, "Legimus in ecclesiasticis historiis..." (PL 94, 452-455), but a longer version of the same text which circulated in the late redaction of PD. Cross notes (Ibid., 23, n.2):

The Scandinavian sermon abbreviates the Latin material considerably, but there are many verbal echoes and comments are made on the patriarchs, prophets and anchorites, who

are not described in the pseudo-Bede version. It is, I think, quite startling to realise that Wisén (p.xvii) opened the Lund copy of the 1539 edition [of PDL] and identified this source without realising that he was using a version of Paul the Deacon's homiliary, whereas K. Vrátný, who knew the importance of PD (and used the abridged version in PL 95), incorrectly regarded the shortened Latin version in pseudo-Bede as the source nearly fifty years later...

In his article in Traditio 33 (1977), 101-135, Cross presents an edition of the earliest known text of the longer version of the Latin homily (from the ninth-century Munich ms. clm. 6314) collated with later mss. The section on the deaths of martyrs cited here is found in full in Ps. Bede 71 (cf. PL 94, 454C); but the phrase alii pelagi periculo [demersi] in the text edited by Cross is closer to Sthom. 41/9 (Nhom. 145/11) sumer i vatne kafer, than Ps. Bede's phrase, alii pelagi periculo subjecti. (Demersi was also the reading in the exemplar used by Ælfric for his homily for All Saints: cf. CH I. 542/28-29, "sume on widdre sǣ besencte". See Cross, "Ælfric and the Mediaeval Homiliary...", 23, n.1.)

Another longer All Saints' Day homily in Sthom. (151/9 - 161/6) follows the basic plan of "Legimus in ecclesiasticis historiis...", but contains several digressions and is connected only distantly with the Latin text. The catalogue of torments is omitted in the section on martyrs; but an alius- catalogue on the duties of angels found in the Latin homily (but omitted in the first All Saints' Day sermon in Sthom.) is adapted (piecemeal) in the second text in Sthom. (cf. Cross, Traditio 33 [1977], 108/44-53; Sthom. 153/5-14, 154/19-29). The longer All Saints sermon in Sthom. also contains a minimal version of the "Gifts of Men" series (158/15-19):

...es þo hveriom hiálpvá[n]liet at erfipa ser i nøck[v]li

ef hann es heill svasesm hver es hellst til fØR.
 sumer i bønahaldi oc knebeþiar follom.
 í smiþom þeir er hager ró.
 fylgia ofØrom monnom yfer vøtn.
 eþa slíct er guþ scýtr hveriom i hug at gera til hialpar sér.

No parallel for this passage is found in the Latin sermon; but on the commonplace see Cross, "The Old English poetic theme of 'The Gifts of Men'", Neophilologus 46 [1962], 66-70.

69. For a full discussion of the background of the alius-series and its use in Old English literature, see Cross, "On The Wanderer, lines 80-84", Vetenskaps-societetens i Lund Årsbok (1958-59), 77-109.

Further examples of the figure are found at Sthom. 18/23-31, 19/3-4 (cf. Gr. 19 in Ev., PL 76, 1155C; see below, ch. 7, n.26); Sthom. 90/18ff. Nhom. 138/20ff.; cf. Gr. 34 in Ev., PL 76, 1252Dff., sunt nonnulli...). Cf. also the following sequence, based on the list of the works of mercy given at Matt. 25:35-36, from the sermon for the Feast of the Assumption of Mary preserved in both Sthom. and Nhom. (Sthom. 5/8-15; Nhom. 130/9-17):

Øoll góþ verk þau es aprer meN gera við liþo guþs.
 þau georþe maria við siálfan drotten.
 Aprer meN gefa hungroþvm feótslo en þyrstom dryc.
 en maría feódde drotten várn siálfan a brióste sér.
 oc af sino erfeþe.
 Aprer meN clæpa þá er kalner ero.
 en maría klédde son guþs holde síno. oc reífom
 oc klæpom.
 Aprer meN vitia þeira er i myrqvastofom ero. eþa veita
 þeim miscuN er fyr deómþer ero. af ofríke vándra manna.
 en maria fleóþe undan ofríke herodes meþ drotten
 várn til egiptalanz.

A close analogue for the passage is found in a sermon for the same Feast Day falsely attributed to Saint Anselm, an Old Icelandic translation of which is preserved in AM 624 4to (c. 1500; the Latin

sermon also circulated in PDL; see further below, ch. 4, n.7).

PL 158, 647B-C (PL 95, 1507A):
 ...Alii hospitem quemlibet in
 domo sua suscipiunt; ista non
 quemlibet, sed proprium Dei
 Filium, qui non habet ubi caput
reclinat..., non in domo, sed
 in utero suscipit. Alii nudum
 quemlibet veste mutabili atque
 corruptibili undelibet composita
 operiunt, ista Verbum Dei quodam-
 modo nudum carne induit; dum
 idem verbum in eadem virgine
 carnem in unitate personæ
 assumpsit, quæ sine fine incom-
 mutabilis atque incorruptibilis
 permanebit. Alii quemlibet esur-
 ientem vel sitientem cibo, vel
 pota exteriori reficiunt; ista
 hominem Deum humanitus indigentem,
 non solum exterioribus cibis vel
 potibus pavit, verumetiam interiori
 suo lacte aluit.

Leifar 157/14-21:
 ...Aðrir taka nokkra gesti í
 hús sitt; enn sjá mæz tók einka
 son guðs, eigi í húsi sínu hellðr
 í kviðe. Aðrir klæða noktan mann
 skiptilegu ok brigðiligu klæði
 nokkro, en María skryðde í sjer
 orð guðs óskiptiligo ok óbrigði-
 ligo holldi. Aðrir fæða nokkurn
 hungraðan ok þyrstan enni ytri
 fæzslu, enn María fæddi guð ok
 mann eigi at eins enni ytri fæzlu,
 hellðr fæddi hún hann á brjósti sjer,
 þa er hann þurfti mannligrar fæzslu.

For some other OWN examples of the alius-series see, e.g.,
Elucidarius (AM 674 A 4to, Kbh., 1869), 23/10-15; M. Tveitane,
 "En Norrøn Versjon av Visio Pauli", Årbok for Universitetet i Bergen.
Humanistisk Serie (1964), 8/2-7; 11/4; Jóns s. helga B, Bisk. I.
 240/10-12; Hávamál, st. 69; Brot af Sigurðargviðu, st. 4; and the
 translations of I Cor. 12:8-10 cited by Kirby, Biblical Quotation...,
 I. 364-365.

70. On these texts see Gunnes, 162, 172-3. Mattias Tveitane ("Irish

apocrypha in Norse tradition?", Arv 22 [1966], 111-135) has suggested that antithetical descriptions of heaven and hell of this kind may be based on insular models. (On analogous sequences in OE texts see, e.g., M. McC. Gatch, "Eschatology in the Anonymous Old English Homilies", Traditio 21 [1965], 134, n. 75; 158 nn. 118-120; F.C. Robinson, "The Devil's Account of the Next World", NM 73 [1972], 362-371; H.L.C. Tristram, "Stock Descriptions of Heaven and Hell in Old English", NM 79 [1978], 102-113.) James W. Marchand, however ("The Old Norwegian Christmas Homily and the Question of Irish Influence", Arv 31 [1975], 30), has pointed out that such features as "the neither-nor formula" and the negative formulation of the joys of heaven are also commonplace in accounts of the afterlife in patristic texts. In Sthom., for instance, one can compare the description of heaven included in the translation of Ps.-Ambrose, Acta S. Sebastiani (Sthom. 144/1-15; PL 17, 1118B-1119A; cf. the younger Icelandic rendering of the same text preserved in AM 238 fol. XII [c. 1400], ed. A. Loth, "Til Sebastianus saga", Bibl. Arn. 31 [1975], 107-108). Shorter versions of the "joys of heaven" commonplace were also used as peroration-formulas (cf. Nhom. 37/33 - 38/1, 95/1-5, 159/13-19).

With the catalogues of hell-torments one can compare similar rhythmical lists of the miseries of this world, found for example in a commentary on the Lord's prayer in Sthom. (32/6-14, 18-21; no source known, cf. van Arkel, 12):

Adám vas friáls scapaþr oc til sælo...
 oc gat diofæll yver hann stigit.
 oc varþ hans illzko þráll.
 því varþ hann fyr svicom oc synþom.
 sóttom oc sorgom.
 oc allre þessa heims meinseme.

...

...hever dróttEN vá. eige eN æll synþa víte
af oss teket.

þat es báþe erf^éþe oc m^óþe
oc m^org þessa heims meínseme.
s^ótt oc daúþe
s^arg oc vmboqe.
hungr oc þorste.
v^álaþ oc v^ílsíþr.

Cf. Sthom. 169/6-9 ("A Joladagin"; no source has been identified
for this section; cf. K. Vrátný, ANF 32 [1916], 40; van Arkel, 16):

...þeim monnom es stadder erom í vesolþ veralldar
þessar.

í s^ottom oc s^arleigk
hríþom oc fr^ostom. oc óarum.
sullti oc m^andaúþ.
oc m^arghóttom meínlátum
þeim es her verþa at hafa
þeir men er heimeN byGva.

Stock descriptions of heaven and hell are regularly accompanied
by a form of the "inexpressibility topos". Elaborate versions of
this commonplace are appended, for instance, to the heaven and hell
catalogues in the Nhom. Christmas homily already cited:

Nhom. 32/14-16:

[Þar er æigi hungr ne þorste, etc.]...Oc þo at
allt man-kyn mælte fra uphæfe hæims-ens ok til
væraldar enda. þa mætte æigi s^agia himna fagnað
allan. ok dyró þa er þar er...

34/2-6:

[Þar er óp ok grátr, etc.]...Oc þo at hværr maðr
hæfði hundrað hofða. ok í hværiu hofði vare .c.
tugna [sic] or iarne. ok þær allar mælte fra uphæfe
hæims þessa. alt til veraldar enda. þa mætte þær æigi
s^agia allt þat hit illa er í hælvi er.

Tveitane points out that the "hundred heads topos", which derives

ultimately from Virgil (Aeneid VI.625; Georgics II.42-44), is also found in the OWN translation of Visio Pauli preserved in AM 624 4to ("Irish apocrypha...", 119; "En Norrøn Versjon af Visio Pauli", 10/27 - 11/7; 11/20-21; 13/1-5, 15-18). As Marchand points out, however (op. cit., 29-30), this form of the "inexpressibility topos" is so commonplace that one cannot assume a direct connection between the two OWN texts. See generally, Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, 159-162; P. Courcelle, "Histoire du cliché virgilien des cent bouches", Revue des Études Latines 33 (1956), 231-240. Old English examples of the commonplace are discussed by, e.g., Tristram, op. cit., 107; A. di Paolo Healey, The Old English Vision of St. Paul, Speculum Anniversary Monographs 2 (1978), 54-55; J. Bazire and J.E. Cross, Eleven Old English Rogationtide Homilies (1982), 58, 60-61, nn. 11-12, 65/85-90, 142/89 - 143/94.

Less elaborate versions of the inexpressibility topos are also associated with the joys of heaven at, e.g., Sthom. 45/12-18; 169/3-5; Nhom. 88/28-29, 100/9-12. The device is also used in other contexts. Cf., e.g., in the Nhom. Olaf-legend,

110/1-2:

Enngi maðr fær þat oðrum sagt
hvessu mykil fagnaðr fylgði þeim
góða manne...

cf. Metcalfe, 70/9:

Exultabat rex plus quam credi
potest...

110/19-20:

Þat fær ængi maðr oðrum sagt
hvessu mykit sa hinn helgi maðr
bøtte fyrir mannum meðan hann
réð fyrir lande oc lögum.

Ibid., 71/9-10:

Explicari uerbis non potest, quanta
beneficia populis illis rex sepe
nominatus contulerit...et in
promulgacione legum, et in
sustentacione pauperum...

cf. Den store saga om Olav den Hellige, 695/9-11 (Flat. III. 247/32-34):

...engi tunga ma tina ne hugr hyggia huersu mikit gott

konungrin veitti sinum monnum i laga setningu ok huggan
fatakra manna...

See also Sthom. 5/4-5 (Nhom. 130/4-6); 78/9-11; Nhom. 36/3-4;
101/28-31.

For some other OWN examples of the commonplace, see Duggals
Leizla, HMS I, 338/26-28; Michaels saga, HMS I, 713/1-2; Barl.
78/2-4, "...þo at ein tunga väre þær allar tungu sem veret hava"
(Ps. Ioh. Dam. 54/23-25, "...et si omnes qui modo et aliquando fuerunt
hominum linguæ una fierent"), 124/27-32 (Ps. Ioh. Dam. 85/2-7);
Sólarljóð, st. 68; Líknarbraut, st. 41; Lilja 93-94 (Þórhallur
Þorgilsson, Drög að skrá um ritverk á íslenzku ... af latneskum
eða rómönskum uppruna, II. Ítalía [1958], 23-24, í 147, compares
the verse of Peter Comestor, "Si fieri posset quod arenae, pulvis
et undae..." [PL 198, 1045], a prose translation of which is found
in Maríu saga, 685/32ff. Cf. also H.E. Allen, ed., The Book of
Margery Kempe, E.E.T.S., O.S. 212 [1940], 252/1-27, and note ad
loc.); Árngrímr ábóti Brandsson, Guðmundardrápa, st. 52; Píslar-
grátur, st. 4, ÍM I.196.

71. No source has been identified for the passage (cf. van Arkel, 14-15).
On the meaning of grandveri see Walter, Lex. Lehn., 74.
72. On the "subjectless" construction in OWN, see M. Nygaard, "Udeladelse
af subjekt; 'subjektløse' sætninger i det norrøne sprog (den klas-
siske sagastil)", ANF 10 (1894), 1-25; Norrøn Syntax, §10. See also
G.E. Rieger, "Die Spitzenstellung des finiten Verbs als Stilmittel
des isländischen Sagaerzählers", ANF 83 (1968), 81-139.

The Nhom. Olaf-legend contains several examples of passages in
which a similar staccato rhythm is achieved through the omission of
verb-subjects:

Nhom. 117/14-20:

En umm dag noccon callaðo
þeir prestenom til sín...
cvaðusc scyldu sysla noccot.
ok baðo hann fylgia sér.
hæfðu með sér haima-man
sín ... Síðan þeir como
langt fra husum ... þa
gripu þeir prest u-varanda.
ok brutu baða fot-leggi á
honum. styfðu af tungunni.
ok stungu bæðe æugun ór
hæfði honum...

125/13-19:

...senndu þegar samdögres
til hans hælgu kirkiu.
træystuzc þa hans miscunn.
ok læitaðo þa hit þriðia
sinni at barneno. ok funnu
þegar svæinen þar sofanda
hía husi ... foro þa haim
fegnir. en fyr greto þeir.
þaccaðo varum milda drottne
alla þa dyrð ok pryði er hann
gerir þes hælga mannz hvert
sinni er á hann værðr hætitit.

Similar examples are found at Nhom. 119/12-14 (Metcalf 83/9-11);

121/9-11 (Metcalf 85/14-15); 122/13-15 (cf. Metcalf 86/22f.)

Cf. also the following passage, in which the translator produces
a rhythmical calk of the Latin through the omission of verbs:

Nhom. 118/10-12:

Tungan hæill. ok æugun
bæðe. leggirnir groner.
ok oll onnur sár
verclaus. ok fenget
hina bæztu hæillsu.

cf. Metcalf 81/10-15 (note the
use of the historical present):

Quadam uero die sacerdotem ...
euocant, et assumpto quodam cliente
suo ... quasi cuiusdam negocii gracia
secum abducunt. Cum ergo remoti longe
a domo sua ... deuenissent, arripientes
presbiterum nichil tale formidantem,
frangunt ei tibiae, abscidunt linguam,
a capite oculos eruunt.

Ibid. 90/10-15:

...mittentes ad ecclesiam sancti
martiris, tercio sub eius obtentu
querere temptant. Statimque exeuntes,
in quodam loco prope domum ... dormien-
tem inveniunt, et alacres facti domum
reuertuntur, super inuento, quem prius
perditum defleuerant, domini laudantes
magnalia, qui pro agonista suo tot
dignabatur operari miracula.

Metcalf 82/2-3:

Lingua reddita, tibie sanate,
oculi restituti, et loca, si
qua fuerant uulnerata uel lesa,
integerrimam recepere sospitatem.

This might be called "slavish imitation"; but it is probably fairer to say that the translator has simply succeeded in capturing an effect he admired in his original.

Cecily Clark draws attention, in the introduction to her edition of The Peterborough Chronicle 1070-1154 (2nd ed., 1970, lxxx), to the effective use of the same sort of sentence-rhythm in a passage in the "First Continuation" of the Chronicle:

...How well this writer grasped the need for appropriate variation is made clear by his use of a different sort of accumulation, asyndeton, for expressing the swift and joyful action by which the monks of Angély at last expelled their abbot:

⁊ Ðes oðer dæies æfter Sancte Iohannis messedæi, cusen
þa muneces abbot of hemself and brohten him into cyrce
mid processionem; sungen 'Te Deum Laudamus', ringeden
þa belle, setten him on þes abbotes settle, diden him
ealle hersumnesse swa swa hi scolden don here abbot.

73. Note the paronomasia: leípende...leíþa. For some similar examples of word-play in the homilies, see below, appendix, paronomasia.
74. On the incorporation of the "catalogue of vices" in this confession formula, see Lilli Gjerløw, Liturgica Islandica I. Text, Bibl. Arn. 35 (1980), ch. 3, "A Note on the Creeds in the Icelandic Homiliu-Bók", 22-24. On similar OE Confiteors, see M. Förster, "Zur Liturgik der angelsächsischen Kirche", Anglia 66 (1942), 1-51. The background of the lists of sins at Nhom. 35/25-28 and 87/12 - 89/12 is discussed by Joan Turville-Petre, "Sources...", 173-174.
75. For further examples, see the list of alliterative pairs appended to this chapter.
76. Word-pairs are, of course, a commonplace feature of many languages and literatures. (Inna Koskeniemi, for instance, in her study,

Repetitive Word Pairs in Old and Middle English Prose... [1968], 105ff., cites examples from French, German, Swedish, Finnish and Hebrew.) And Vilhelm Andersen ("Gentagelsen, en sproglig Studie", in s.a., Danske Studier [1893], 89ff.) and Franz Blatt (Fra Cicero til Copernicus 1940, 46ff.) have pointed out that "tautologies" are often used by translators in an earnest attempt to make clearer the sense of their originals (cf., e.g, Mattias Tveitane, Den lærde stil..., 83ff.; Bjarne Berulfsen, Kulturtradisjon fra en Storhetstid, 269ff.; S. Kuhn, "Synonyms in the Old English Bede", JEGP 46 [1947], 168-176). Many examples of this procedure can be found, for instance, in the Nhom. Olaf-legend: með fortolum sinum. ok hæil-ráðum ... með orðum sinum ok astraðum (113/14-16) for precibus (Metcalfe, 76/7-8); þóe oc u-scap (115/15) for peruersitas (Metcalfe, 79/2-3); hæil oc scoren-orðr (116/11) for libere loquens (Metcalfe, 80/8); hvatvís ok uvítr (120/10-11) for satis temerarius (Metcalfe, 84/15-16); fyrir harme ok sórg (120/25) for pre anxietate (Metcalfe, 85/2); laus ok ú-bundin (122/4) for omni uinculo liberatus (Metcalfe, 86/12-13). Even in translated passages in the Homily Books, however, word-pairs would usually appear to be used primarily for rhythmical effect. Cf., for example, the resonant series of doublets in the concluding sentence of the last miracle-story in the Olaf-legend:

Nhom. 129/15-18:

...at á þeim sama aptne þa
toc or værcen ok þrota allan.
 ok sva miucr ok letr var
 honum þegar <fótr> bæðe at
riða ok at rinna sem hœnum
 hefði enskisvætta veret at
grande eða at mæini orðet.

cf. Metcalfe, 94/20 -95/2:

...ut eodem uespere tumor sedaretur, et
propulso dolore, ad quelibet offitia
 membrorum agilitate, ac lesionem non
 sensisset, promptus haberetur.

78. Ibid., 358.
79. Origins of Icelandic Literature, 119-120. The rhythm of the passage was also admired by Karel Vrátný, ANF 32 (1916), 48.
80. Cf the sequence which precedes these lines, on the virtues associated with simplicity (Sthom. 157/32-36):

Nu sa hver~~e~~s einfalldr er. sa mun
 falyndr vera oc es þat þegar gótsca.
 þar fylger oc oft litilláte.
 oc hlýpni falyndino.
 nógvære oc hreínlifi
 trúfesti oc tárfeeling.
 staþfesti hugscotz
 oc stiorn atferþar.
 geþfesti oc gasemi.
 oc er þat mikil gótsca allt saman.

81. SBVS XVI (1963-4), 170-171. A good example of what Berulfsen would call the "substitution" of alliteration for homoioteleuton in an OWN rendering of a Latin text is found in the translation of Gregory's tenth gospel homily, "in die Epiphaniae", discussed at the beginning of the chapter. In his exposition of Matt. 2:12, "...per aliam viam reversi sunt in regionem suam", Gregory includes a rhythmical catalogue of the sins which have precipitated man's exile from paradise and of the acts of penitence which can facilitate his return to heaven. It is interesting to compare the rendering of this passage in the Sthom. Epiphany homily with a freer handling of the sequence found in the independent sermon for the same feast day in Nhom. (On this text see above, n.23 .)

Sthom. 59/31-36:

PL 76, 1113D:

...Herap várt er paradis. en ...Regio quippe nostra paradisus est,
 þó er oss baNat at fara ena ad quam, Jesu cognito, redire per

samo goto afstr alz vér keNdom	viam qua venimus prohibemur.
iesum. Fra herape óro hurfum vér	A regione etenim nostra
fyr metnaþar sakar oc óhlýpne.	superbiendo,
fylgþom heims hlutom.	inobediendo,
bergþom þaNaþre feózlo	visibilia sequendo,
nú má eige þaNeg þangat komasc.	cibum vetitum gustando,
heldr megom ver þangat komasc.	discessimus;
fyr grát oc hlýpne	sed ad eam necesse est,
oc hofnon heimseNs	ut flendo,
oc stopvande beifþne holzens.	obediendo,
	visibilia contemnendo,
	atque appetitum carnis refrenando,
	redeamus.

Nhom. 63/29-34:

...Aðra gætu sculum ver aptr fara til heraðs vars en
 vér þaðan forom. þvi at vér foróm fra paradisar sælo
 fyrir ofmetnað ok ulyðni
 ok fyrir á-girni synilegra luta.
 fyrir af-át. ok ústilta gleði.
 ok er os nauðsyn aptr at hverfa til fostr-lannz vars
 fyrir litil-láte ok lyðni
 ok hamnan hæims.
 ok fyrir mæin-láte licams
 ok iðran synda.

The passage in the Nhom sermon is, of course, a paraphrase (probably based on reminiscence) rather than a translation of Gregory's text; and although, in most respects, the sermon in Nhom. is quite independent of the Sthom. Epiphany homily, it is tempting to imagine that the author of this text was familiar with a version of the passage like that found in Sthom., and that he was able to modify and refine the alliterative features of this vernacular "source" according to his own tastes. (Cf., e.g., his use of the phrase "fyrir ofmetnað ok ulyðni" for the Sthom. translator's "fyr metnaþar sakar oc óhlýpne"; "fyrir litil-láte ok lyðni" -- note the "Nor-

wegian" alliteration -- for "fyr grát oc hlýþne".) It is also worth noting, however, that the success of both "translations" is due only in part to the use of alliteration. Balanced non-alliterative phrases also contribute (though, admittedly, in a more subdued way) to the rhythmical complexion of each passage.

82. Fornsögur Suðrlanda (1884), v.

83. Tveitane, Den lærde stil..., 67. Cf. Frances R. Lipp's more cogent criticism of G.H. Gerould's suggestion ("Abbot Ælfric's Rhythmic Prose", Modern Philology 22 [1925], 353-66) that Ælfric's alliterative prose style is modelled on Latin rhymed prose (Ælfric's Old English Prose Style", Studies in Philology 66 [1969], 704):

...When one considers the natural alliance between rhyme and parallelism, one can see, first of all, why the two are so often found together and, secondly, why it would be virtually impossible to get the same effect by substituting alliteration for rhyme. Rhymes on grammatically parallel forms are a reflection of the very parallelism they serve to emphasize. They arise naturally from the structural elements of the prose. Alliteration does not, of course, harmonize with parallelism in this way. If the final words of parallel syntactic units are to alliterate, they must be carefully chosen for the purpose; the alliteration will not be a part of the parallelism itself, but rather a superimposed adornment. Thus the rhyme of rhymed prose and alliteration would not be really comparable even if the alliterating words came at the ends of syntactic units.

84. Cf., e.g., D.A. Seip's remarks on the use of alliteration in

the OWN translation of Prosper's Epigrams ("En norsk oversettelse av Prosper fra 12. hundreår", MM [1943], 115ff.; "En Middelaldersk Lærebok", Nordisk Tidskrift för Vetenskap Konst och Industri 19 [1943], 313-24) and Gregory's Dialogues (Nye Studier i Norsk Språkhistorie, 93ff.).

In the Homily Books, alliteration is commonly used for emphasis in peroration-formulas. Cf., e.g., Sthom. 25/8-9, 66/18-21, 86/6-8; Nhom. 37/30 - 38/4 (combined with rhyme); and especially the long alliterative conclusion to the Nhom. sermon on the parable of the Sower.

Stereotyped alliterative formulas in the homilies include versions of the phrase at gefa gaum guós boðorðum (cf. Sthom. 164/5, 169/12; Nhom. 37/14, 100/9-12, 159/3-4), and the term heims hégómi used for mundi vanitates (Alc. VV, PL 101, 616D) at Nhom. 4/14 (see D.A. Seip, MM [1943], 118; B. Berulfsen, Kulturtradisjon fra en Storhetstid, 199-200; cf. Leifar 6/22 [Prosper, Epigrams, PL 51, 505A, mundi vana], Barl. 91/2, 93/15 [Ps. Ioh. Dam., 66/21, sæcularis sollicitudo], 116/15 [Ps. Ioh. Dam., 80/12, carnis passiones et uoluptates]; cf. Nhom. 94/25-26, "...at hugr vör se ægi aptr til hæims-enns ne til hægóma verald-lega luta"; and, perhaps, Sthom. 212/25-26, "Hægóma dýrþ oc vegsemp þessa heims scolom ver flóia...". Accounts of Christ's sufferings based on the Improperia of the Good Friday Liturgy contain variations on the sequence, bænd oc bardage. brixle oc hlátr. höbung oc lyge. (Sthom. 67/21-24 [Nhom. 78/23-26], 84/28-29, 109/23ff., 146/1-2; cf. Nhom. 34/17ff.; see M. Tveitane, Arv 22 [1966], 132; J.W. Marchand, Arv 31 [1975], 31; A.S. Cook, ed. The Christ of Cynewulf [1909], 208ff.).

The Homily Books contain a few examples of alliterative

scriptural paraphrases. A "citation" of John 3:16 at Sthom. 167/35-38 modulates into an urbane alliterative sequence (cf. Kirby, Biblical Quotation..., II. 168). Similarly, in the introduction to the St Olaf's Day Homily (Nhom. 108/18-20), the words of Isaiah 14:13f. are caught up in the alliterative current of the surrounding prose. (See also the translation of Ps. 121:1 at Nhom. 89/18-19 cit. below, p. 102, s.v. fara ok flytiask, and the reminiscence of I Col. 2:14 at Sthom. 106/33-35). Especially interesting is the expansive rendering of the words dispersit superbos (Lk. 1:51) in a paraphrase of the Magnificat at Sthom. 140/11, "...oc dreífpi hann dramblótom oc mýGpi metnaþar fullom". The second half of this verse can be compared with the free translation of Luke 14:11 ("Qui se exaltat humiliabitur...") at Sthom. 93/29-30, "...mun sa verþa lægþr oc mýgþr af gupi es sic vill siálfr upphefia oc mikils meta" (cf. Kirby, Biblical Quotation..., I. 252-253), and with a commentary on Is. 40:4 in Jóns s. baptista II (Post. 870/15), "...þviat hann mygir metnaðarfullum en veitir miskunn litillátum". The phrase at dreifa dramblátom is also used in versions of the Magnificat in Maríu saga (cf. 29/29-30; 363/20-21), and in Oddur Gottskálksson's New Testament. (Jón Helgason suggests, Málið á Nýja Testamenti Odds Gottskálkssonar [1929], 193, that Oddur may have been familiar with the phrase from Maríu saga.) Cf. too the juxtaposition of the verbs dreifa and dramba in the translation of Alc. VV, PL 101, 620B at Nnom. 9/4-6 (cit. below, p. 245).

85. Ibid., 73. For some examples of alliterative proverbial phrases in the homilies, see ch. 3.

86. Ibid., 73.
87. On the relationship between the two texts, see Anne Holtsmark, "Sankt Olavs Liv og Mirakler", Festskrift til Francis Bull (1938), 127ff.
88. Note that the alliteration of stuf and stoð is not paralleled in the Latin. An almost identical alliterative sequence is found in the translation of Metcalfe 81/29-31 at Nhom. 118/4-6. See below, p.124 , s.v. toga ok tøygia.
89. Cf. perhaps the use of the phrase himnesk heþ at Sthom. 57/26 for celsitudo cælestis; himins hæð at Nhom. 8/8 for cæli culmina. See below, pp. 108-109 , s.v. hæð ok himinríki.
90. Cf. the dry calk of the same passage in the version of Alcuin's treatise in AM 685d 4to (ed. O. Widding, Ed. Arn. A 4 [1960], 100/14-15):

Allir [sic] gripendur vlfvas mvnni ok travtt
firilatendr fa hluti aumum monnum

Widding has pointed out(Ibid., 12) that the text in Nhom. bears the marks of a reviser who endeavoured to polish the prose style of the original translation (see below, p. 315).

With the phrase a varga væniu, cf. the renderings of the same simile in the OWN versions of "Un Samedi Par Nuit" (P 102-103,

"Fait ont comme li leu, / Qi depart tot la proie"): Nhom.
 149/15-16, "Þeir hafa gort sem vargar..."; cf. AM 764 4to, ed.
 O. Widding and H. Bekker-Nielsen, MS 21 (1959), 281, "þeir
 hafa gort sem uargar ero uaner... (same reading in JS 405 8vò).

91. Cf. AM 685d 4to, ed. cit. 100/3-4:

Opt ma fordazt fiandr ok vikinga.

eigi ma fordazt eða flyia vonda ðomendr.

The onomatopoeic alliteration of flótti/ flyia in the Nhom. text
 makes the translator's figura etymologica more striking than that
 of his exemplar: fuga/ effugi.

92. Cf. AM 685d 4to, ed. cit., 102/8-11:

Ef <s>krok vottar ero skilder
 þa munv þeir skiott finnaz lygner.
 Huortueggi er firi gudi sekur sa
 er leyner hinu sanna ok sa er seger
 hit logna. þviat sa uill eigi biarga
 er leyner hinv sanna. enn sa gírniz
 at meina er lygur.

93. Cf. AM 685d 4to, ed. cit., 130/5:

<o>gledi ill með andligri gledi.

94. op. cit., 130.

95. As Gunnes notes (177-178), analogous sequences on the Cross are found in sermons by Ivo of Chartres (Ps. Aug. 247, PL 39, 2203D - 2204A) and Jonas of Orléans (PL 106, 344B-D).
96. Cf. the more pedestrian rendering of the same passage in an independent translation of Caes. 227 at Sthom. 193/6-14.
(On the two translations, see Hans Bekker-Nielsen, "Caesarius of Arles som kilde til norrøne homilier", Bibl. Arn. 25.1 1961, 10-16). On the metaphors hiartahæll, himinríkiss dyR, and luklar gopgerninga, see below, pp. 323-325.

It is interesting to compare the rhythm and phraseology of a eulogy of fasting found in a sermon for Ash Wednesday in Nhom. (74/22-25):

Fasta megrir likam-en.
en hon feitir ond-ena.
móðer hon holdet.
en hon styrkir niartat.
inn laðar hon engla.
ok recr ut diofla.
brýtr hon losto.
ok bōtr costo.

(Cf. similar sequences on fasting at Sthom. 62/30ff.; see H.L. Spencer, MS 44 1982, 287/59ff.; J. Turville-Petre, Traditio 19 [1963], 60). For further examples of the rhyming pair kostr/ lōstr in the Homily Books, see Sthom. 50/32-33 (Ps. Aug. 117, PL 39, 1978/13-14, virtus/ vitium); Sthom. 121/13-14; Nhom. 24/22 (Alc. VV, PL 101, 632B, virtus/vitium); Nhom. 83/26-27 (Gr. 21 in Ev.

PL 76, 1172/20-22, vitia/ virtutes); 86/22-23 (cf. Gr. 22 in Ev., PL 76, 1181/7-9), 87/6-7 (Gr. 21 in Ev., PL 76, 1174/3-4, vitia virtutes). Cf., e.g., Leifar 152/36; Jón Helgason, ed., Fortællinger Fra Landnámabók (3rd ed., 1975), 5/5 ; Rauðulfs þáttr, ed. O.A. Johnsen and Jón Helgason, Den store saga om Olav den Hellige (1941), II. 662/13; Njáls s., ÍF 12 (1954), 42/24-25; DN II. 272/7. On the use of kostr to translate virtus, see Tveitane, Den lærde stil..., 114-116; Walter, Lex. Lehn., 44.

Appendices:

Alliterative Pairs; Cursus;

Paronomasia; Litotes.

Some Alliterative Word Pairs in Sthom. and Nhom.

The list is far from exhaustive. The orthography of the catchwords conforms (on the whole) to spellings given in Larsson, Ordförrådet i de äldsta isländska handskrifterna, and Holtsmark, Ordförrådet i de eldsta norske håndskrifter. Exigencies of time and space have prevented me from providing a full set of references to occurrences of the doublets in other texts; but I have noted odd analogues here and there, especially those recorded in the convenient table of alliterative pairs provided by Harald Ehrhardt in Der Stabreim in Altnordischen Rechtstexten (1977), 175-209, and in the (less convenient) lists in J.P. Oakden, Alliterative Poetry in Middle English (1930-35; rpt. 1968).

áfali ok auki	Sthom. 106/7 ...vér þyrptem heldr micklo umbotar of vart ráp ok <u>sleocvingar</u> at <u>synpom</u> órom. heldr en <u>áfalz oc auka</u> vip þa <u>anmarka</u> er vér erom <u>ápr</u> i vafep
afát ok ústillta gleði	Nhom. 63/32 (cf. <u>ofát...</u>)
aflát ok yferbót	Sthom. 106/14; 30/16, at fullo <u>aflát</u> synþa oc <u>yver bót</u> ; cf. Nhom. 72/7-8, 31-32, vil æigi <u>áf lata ne yfir bota</u>
afleítr ok áttlere	Sthom. 21/20.
aftekia ok aflát	Sthom. 56/15
ágirnd ok elska	Nhom. 70/24-25, <u>áfgrnd</u> fear ok <u>ælsca</u> þessa heims lif
algorr ok al-þægr	Nhom. 77/15
alheilagr ok alsáll	Sthom. 29/31, ...ero þeir <u>ædaþleger</u> <u>alhelger</u> oc <u>alsáler</u>
alúp ok yferbót	Sthom. 31/10, til <u>alúpar</u> vip hann oc <u>yverbótar</u>
áttlere oc andvane	Sthom. 150/16-17, En sa maþr er <u>áttlere</u> oc <u>aNdvane</u> allz <u>góps</u> er <u>eige</u> <u>elscar</u> þetta et biarta líf (<u>Acta S. Sebastiani</u> , PL 17, 1120D, O vere illum <u>degenerem et omnium bonorum expertem</u> , qui hujus tam formosæ vitæ amore non capitur; cf. AM 238 fol. XII, ed. A. Loth, <u>Bibl. Arn.</u> 31 [1975], 111/12-13, ...sa madr er miog <u>ætleri ok ouerdr allra gódra luta</u> er eigi elskar sua fagurt lif...)

auðigr eða aumr	Nhom. 31/21 (Alc. <u>VV</u> , <u>PL</u> 101, 638C <u>dives vel pauper</u>); cf. Nhom. 19/17-18, <u>auðgir</u> dýia sliht hit sama sem <u>aumir</u> = <u>Ibid.</u> , 623B, Nunquid non <u>divites</u> similiter moriuntur, sicut et <u>pauperes</u> ?; Nhom. 37/4-5, En <u>auðgir</u> menn. Þeir sculo hialpa <u>æumum</u> mænnum ok fatakiu (cf. Ælfric, <u>LS</u> I, 290, xiii. 119, ne se welega ne beo butan ælmes-dædum; see J.T.P., "Sources...", 175f.); Sthom. 33/4 auþogr oc avmr (Caes. 147, <u>CCSL</u> 104, 602 [570/8] <u>dives et pauper</u>); cf. Oakden II.214, <u>earmum and eadigum</u>
bacmélge oc bermélge	Sthom. 147/15-16.
beria ok bøysta	Nhom. 121/9-10, Nu taka þeir hann hænndum. beria ok bøysta ok læica hallzcostar illa (Metcalf, 85/14-15, Capitur miser, trahitur, ceditur <u>uerberibus afflictus</u> ...); cf., e.g. <u>Stjórn</u> 418/10-11, Philistei lavpa nv til oc handtaka hann. <u>beria ok bæysta</u> oc blinda hann baðvm avgvvm (Judges 16:21, Quem cum apprehendissent Philisthiim, statim eruerunt oculos...)
biðia ok bióða	Nhom. 36/2 (cf. Ehrhardt, 177; Oakden II.213, <u>bidde and beode</u>)
blíör ok biartæygör	Nhom. 128/1-2, For hon þaðan <u>blið ok biartæygó</u> með halæitum fagnaðe... (Metcalf, 93/5-7, ...uisionis optate leticiam...meruit recipere.)
boþ oc bann	Sthom. 16/8, ...at þeir scylde rápa <u>boþe oc baNe</u> yver alla cristne; Sthom. 173/38-39, ...at rápa her <u>boþi oc baNi</u> of laNd allt (cf. Ehrhardt, 178).
brióta ok brenna	Nhom. 109/31-32, Ða <u>bræut</u> hann ok <u>brendi</u> hæiðin hof; cf. Metcalf, 70/3-4, Effringebantur statue, succidebantur luci, euertebantur delubra. (cf. Ehrhardt, 178, <u>brenna</u>

	oc brjóta, bryta oc brænna; E.S. Olszewska, " <u>ME Brittene and Brenne</u> ", <u>Notes and Queries</u> 219 [1974], 207-9, 323-326.
brióta/ beóta	Sthom. 190/12, ...eige at <u>brióta</u> en fgrno læg heldr at <u>bóta</u> (Matt. 5:17, ...non... <u>solvere</u> sed <u>adimplere</u> ; Kirby, I.146)
bælvon oc bacmælg	Sthom. 158/20
bænd oc bardage	Sthom. 67/22 (Nhom. 78/24)
dráp ok dauði	Nhom. 66/1, ...er vár <u>droten</u> let berasc í þenna hæim oc þolde <u>drap</u> ok <u>dauða</u> fyrir os. ok kóypð os með sinu <u>hælg</u> u bloðe or <u>hælviti</u> (cf. M. Tveitane, "En Norrøn Versjon av Visio Pauli", 12/5-6, síjdan <u>þoldi</u> ek <u>drap</u> ok <u>dauda</u> firi yður -- Ibid., 12/31-32, Ego pro vobis <u>me ipsum in martirio dedit</u> ; <u>Stjórn</u> 567/9, drep æða dauði [cf. 1 Kings 8:37 = <u>pestilentia?</u>]; Ehrhardt, 179, <u>til draps ok til dōþæ</u>)
drepa ok døyða	Nhom. 109/6, hann <u>drap</u> ok <u>døydi</u> ó-kynni sin fyrir guðs sakar (cf. Metcalfe, 68/11, paraphrase of Romans 6:4, ... <u>consepultus in christo per baptismum in mortem</u> ...); cf. Sthom. 153/14-16, ...svasem þeir fóro víp iób. þeir <u>lōmþo</u> hann með <u>lícþro</u> . en felldo hús a sono hans. oc <u>deýdo</u> þa. en <u>drápo</u> fenop hans allan (cf. Ehrhardt, 179-80, <u>dræpr ok deyðdr</u> , <u>dōþan ok drāpin</u> ; E.S. Olszewska, <u>Leeds Studies in English</u> 6 [1937], 61-62, <u>dreped & dede</u>)
ei oc ei	Sthom. 25/9, 32/32-33, 34/14, ...lofa hann <u>ei</u> oc <u>ei</u> (Caes. 147, <u>CCSL</u> 104, 604 [571/5], <u>non deficiunt in laudibus</u>), 49/33, 66/21, 71/30, 79/6, 84/35, 123/16-17, 127/5, 145/18 (<u>Acta S. Sebastiani</u> , PL 17, 1120B, <u>jugiter</u>), 150/15-16 (<u>Ibid.</u> , 1120D, <u>jugiter</u> ; see s.v. <u>eldasc ne endasc</u>); Nhom. 2/10 (Alc. <u>VV</u> , PL 101, 615A, <u>in æternum</u>), 12/6-7 (<u>Ibid.</u> , 622D, <u>in æternum</u>), 13/35 (<u>Ibid.</u> , 624B, <u>in æternum</u>), 16/14 (<u>Ibid.</u> 626A, <u>æternaliter</u>), 19/14 (<u>Ibid.</u> , 628B, <u>in</u>

æternum), 31/9 (Ibid., 638A, perpetualiter), 88/29-30, 34, 89/2, 94/34, 102/10, 158/26,28, 159/7, ei ok ei utan enda (cf. 158/25, á utan enda), 169/33, ei ok ei ænda-laust (cf., e.g., E.S. Olszewska, "Alliterative Phrases in the Ormulum: Some Norse Parallels", English and Medieval Studies Presented to J.R.R. Tolkien ... [1962], 124, azz occ azz.)

eldasc ne endasc

Sthom. 150/15-16, ...en aNat líf er ei oc ei. oc elldesc þat alldrege ne eNdesc (Acta S. Sebastiani, PL 17, 1120D, Illa autem vita manet jugiter, et perseverat instanter, annis quoque labentibus juvenescit et pollet, et inde renovationis sumit initium unde finis accipitur; cf. AM 238 fol. XII, ed. cit., 111/10-12, Enn anars heims lif elldiz eigi með vetra tali helldr endrnyaz þat a uallt ok tekr þa vpphaf er þetta endiz.)

fagr/ fatíðr

Nhom. 119/5-6, fagrt værc æit ok fa-tit bæðe (Metcalf, 83/3-4, percelebre et inauditum miraculum)

fara ok flytiask

Nhom. 89/18-19, ...at vér monnum fara ok flytiask til guðs hus (Ps. 121:1, ...in domum Domini ibimus)

fé oc fasta

Sthom. 51/19, Eige beíper guð iafn mioc fiár þíns eða fðsto. sem þess er hann fór i dag at leýsa feorpu honom þat. þat er ænd þín. (Ps. Aug. 117, PL 39, 1978/47-50, Non eget Deus nec specie tua, nec oleo tuo, nec jejuniis tuo: sed hoc quod in te hodie redemit, ipsum offer, hoc est, animam tuam.)

fé ok frændr

Nhom. 94/19-20, Ecce nos reliquimus omnia et secuti sumus te. Vér hofum allt fyrir-látet fyrir guðs sakar. bæðe fe ok frændr. ok

omnem mundi pompam. (On this text see Gunnes, 174-175. Cf. Ehrhardt, 181, fé ok frændr.)

fiárscaþe eþa frándardauþe Sthom. 94/32; 97/29-30, ...es flestom oc ósárara þó nœcqvi eN báþi fránda dæpi eþa sva fiárscaþi... (cf. Ehrhardt, 183, til fránda tjóns ok fjártapanar)

fleygr oc feórr Sthom. 20/11, várem þa fleyger oc feórer honom til handa

friþr oc fægnoþr Sthom. 66/19, i friþ oc i fognog [sic] paradísar; 86/7, ...late oss fara i þaN friþ oc fægnoþ; Nhom. 107/14, ...hann sagðe nalgast frið ok fagnað.

fríðr ok fagrbúinn Nhom. 123/1-2, þa sa hann møyiar þriar ganga til sin friðar æincum oc fagr-bunaR (Metcalf, 87/15-16, ...uidit nocte tres uirgines uultu decoras, habitu nitidas, sibi astare...)

fægnoþr oc farsæla Sthom. 45/21-22; Nhom. 37/17-18 (on this passage see J.T.P., "Sources...", 180).

gagn ok góðir lutir Nhom. 37/17 (see Ibid., 180), Nhom. 70/13-14, ...er guðs sæðe mæte þar røtasc þeim til gagns ok til goða. (cf. Ehrhardt, 183)

galdr/ gerning Nhom. 87/30, ...við gælðrum, við gerningum... (cf. Ehrhardt, 183, galdrar ok gerningar; Barl. 42/21)

gaman ok gleði Nhom. 88/30 (see also gleði ok gaman; cf. Ehrhardt, 183, til gamans eða glenno; E.S. Olszewska, "Norse Alliterative Tradition in Middle English", Leeds Studies in English 6 (1937), 59-61, game & glathe; Oakden, II. 200, gamen ond gleodream [Beowulf 3021], 240, ich

	<u>gomeni...ant gledie</u> ; 261, <u>gamen and gleo</u> ; 283, <u>gamen and gle</u> , <u>gle and gomen</u> ; 326, <u>game and gle</u> ; 354, <u>gamyn and gle</u> ; 374, <u>game and gle</u>)
gepfeste oc gáseme	Sthom. 157/35
gildingr oc gepleyse	Sthom. 157/38
gift oc geózca	Sthom. 93/10, fyllisc gipt oc gótsco (Caes. 227, <u>CCSL</u> 104, 898 [852/15], <u>virtutibus repleatur</u>)
giálp oc gáleyse	Sthom. 157/38
gleði ok gaman	Nhom. 38/1 (see <u>gaman ok gleði</u> ; cf., e.g., <u>Stjórn</u> 359/11, ...sem þeir ero vanir at hafa <u>til gleði oc gamans</u> = Joshua 6:4, ...quarum usus est <u>in iubilaeo</u>)
gópr oc geózcu fylldr	Sthom. 160/20, góper meN oc gótsco fyllder
grandvere oc gópgerningar	Sthom. 160/27
grandvere oc góplífe	Sthom. 160/26
góplífe oc guþs bóporþ	Sthom. 141/6-7, ...ef vándr maþr snýsc fra illsco sinni. oc skilsc við. <u>en tecr upp góplífi oc guþs bóporþ...</u> (cf. Ezekiel 18:21, Si autem impius egerit poenitentiam ab omnibus peccatis suis, ... <u>et custodierit omnia præcepta mea, et fecerit iudicium et iustitiam...</u>); cf. Sthom. 94/36, ...snuasc <u>til guþs i góplífi</u> ...
guþ oc góper menn	Sthom. 103/18, þat es loflect fyr <u>goþe oc góþom monnom</u> ; 104/3, vinátta meþal <u>guþs oc goþra manna</u> ; Nhom. 36/34-35, þat er retvísum manne hverium scýldt at <u>ælsca guð ok goða menn</u> . ok <u>gefa olmoso fataþium mannum...</u>

(cf. Elfric, LS I, 290, xiii, 116, Ne sceal se wise mann beon butan godan weorcum; see J.T.P., "Sources...", 176); Nhom. 151/12 ...þu røcter hvarke guð ne goða menn ("Un Samedi Par Nuit", P 324, ...de deu n'eus cure); see Ehrhardt, 184-5, guð ok goðir menn, guðs frið ok góðra manna frelse; E.S. Olszewska, "Alliterative Phrases in the Ormulum...", 125-6, Godd & gode menn.

gub oc geózca

Sthom. 153/13, ...at þeir gleými gupi oc gótsco allri; cf. Sthom. 96/39, í gótsco oc í gups láne; Sthom. 161/27, Gup er uphaf siálfr allrar gótsco; 169/24-26, ...fiáNðin scyllði þui avallt hólasc at hann hefði ríkri orþit af illzco oc flárb. heldr an gup af gótscoNi; Nhom. 3/26-27, af gøzco guðlegrar miscunnar (Alc. VV, PL 101, 616B, de bonitate divinæ pietatis); 29/8, ændr-mínning guðlegrar gøzco (Ibid., 636C, recordatio divinæ bonitatis)

gæfogleic oc geózca

Sthom. 156/17-18, gupi nást at gæfogleic ællom oc gøzco

hafa ok halda

Nhom. 26/30-31, AGirni er mykil girnd at samna æuðøfom. ok haua ok halda (Alc. VV, PL 101, 634B, Avaritia est nimia divitarum acquirendi, habendi, vel tenendi cupiditas); 70/32, þeir scyllði þat hafa ok halda; cf. Sthom. 42/16-17, ...svát ver haldem øss fra synþem. oc hafem hug varn fastan til gups; 164/5-6, ...þeir gefa eige gaúm gups boþ-orþom æþrom fyrþui. helga daga at hallda eþa tíþer at hafa. eþa kenningar at heýra (cf. Gr. 38 in Ev., PL 76, 1284C-D, ...alius ...mysterium incarnationis dominicæ pensare et secundum illud vivere dissimulat); see Ehrhardt, 185; Oakden, II. 200, habban and healdan, 205, 214, 221, 241, to habben ant to halden, 285, 355, to hafe and to holde)

hatr oc heift

Sthom. 67/37 (Nhom. 79/5), Vér holdom
 lenge hatr oc heift i hiortom órom ígegn
 þeim es oss sekia of saNar sakar...;
 Sthom. 93/9-10, ...firrisc hatr oc heípter
 (cf. Caes. 227, CCSL 104, 897 [852/15],
cit. above, p. 42); 94/10, ...hrióþi a
 braúv æfund oc hatri heift oc ofmetnaþi.

hatr oc háþne

Sthom. 44/12, ...varna víþ ofmetnaþe oc
æfund. víþ hatre oc háþne víþ bræþe oc
 langráke...

heilaglega oc hreínlega

Sthom. 92/34 (Caes. 227, CCSL 104, 897
 [852/6], fideliter ac diligenter; cf.
trulega oc teokelega, below)

heilagr oc hreínn

Sthom. 7/20, ...svasem góþer englar ero sva
helger oc hreiner... (Nhom. 133/1, hælgir ok
ræinir); 146/23, ... heilagra manna samneyte
 es hiarta hreiN oc heilact; 188/21, helgare
oc hreiNe; cf. 188/25-26, Heilog maria mæ
meyia domina heims oc iarþar ællom englom
hreiNe oc ællom monnom helgare. (cf. hreinson
 oc helgon)

heill ok herfærr

Nhom. 122/33, En þa er hann var hæill oróen
oc hærfór. þa iðraðesc hann sinna hæita...
 (Metcalfe, 87/12-14, ...uotum persolvere
 mens ad modicum cepit refugere, donec...
ualidus iam et fortis effectus. iter arripuit
 recedendi.)

heilsa oc hiólp

Sthom. 77/28-29, ...þa es oc hátlect at
hann verþa andvane heilso oc hiálpar (see
hiólp oc heilsa, below)

heilsa eþa huggon

Sthom. 67/2-3, Rétt es manne at biþia ser
hugonar i meinom eþa heilso (cf. Nhom. 78/4-
 5, ...hæilso eða hugganar í mæinum); 67/4-5

- (Nhom. 78/6-7), ...þa er ver biþiom oss
likamlegrar heilso eþa huGonar...
- heilsa oc hyggiandi Sthom. 153/25-26, ...hann hefer allt
goT af þer. þat er hann vill...heílso
gópa oc hyGiandi.
- hiólp oc heilsa Sthom. 153/20,... þar er manna var mart
comit til fundar vip gup at þíóna honom.
oc þiGia af honom hiólp oc heílso. þa com
þar oc fiándi farandi (cf. Job 1:6, Quadam
autem die, cum venissent filii Dei ut assist-
erent coram Domino, affuit inter eos etiam
Satan.); see also Nhom. 115/33 - 116/2,
...hét á hann til hialpa. oc miscunnar.
bað i guðs nafne léa sér mals oc hælsu...
(Metcalf, 79/17-18, Sanctam multis ef-
flagitabat lacrimis, altis exorat gemitibus,
ut loquendi officium...suo sibi restituat
interuentu); cf. Ehrhardt, 186.
- hirþasc oc haldasc Sthom. 35/23
- hiú oc hiorþ Sthom. 129/36, ...þa fóro þar heím meþ
hiúm sínom oc hiorþ bápe allz hugar fegen.
til heimkyNa siNa i nazaréth (nothing
corresponding in the source for this passage,
Ps. Matthæi Evangelium, cap.3, §5; see G.
Neckel, "Zum Stockholmer Homilienbuch", Bei-
träge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache
und Literatur 38 [1913], 485); cf. 129,
gladdesc af hans til qvæmo oc hirþaNa meþ
hiorþoNi (cf. Ehrhardt, 186, hjörð ok hjún,
hiorþ ok hirþe, hjörð ok hirðir).
- hofuðsynd ok hversdagleg synd Nhom. 37/32, ...er þer hafeð misgort í
hofuð-syndum ok hværsdaglegum syndum...
- hógvære oc hreinlífe Sthom. 157/34

hreinson oc helgon

Sthom. 122/30, ...at drotten se meþ
aða þínom til hreínsonar oc helgonar...

hugr oc hiarta

Sthom. 104/18-19, ...ó hreínso þa es i
hiartano vas oc i hug.; Nhom. 36/28-29,
af ollum hug ok hiarta, 65/6, 66/10,
með ollum hug ok hiarta; 87/12-13, af
ællu hiarta ok af ællum hug ok af ællu
mægni sinu (Matt. 22:37, ...ex toto corde
tuo, et in tota anima tua, et in tota mente
tua...; cf. Nhom. 3/1-2, ...hiarta...ond...
hug...); 170/33 (cf., e.g., Klaus von See,
"Das Herz in Edda und Skaldendichtung",
Skandinavistik 8 [1978], 16-26; G. Weber,
"Irreligiösität und Heldenzeitalter...",
Specvlvm Norroenvm. Norse Studies in Memory
of Gabriel Turville-Petre, 495, n.58)

hús ok hýbæle

Nhom. 94/24, Vér hofum ok omnia communia...
æigum ok allt saman hus ok hybøle iarðer
ok aðra fiarluti sem þair atto (see Gunnes,
173-174; cf Fritzner, s.v. hýbýli; Cleasby-
Vigfusson, s.v. hýbýli; Ehrhardt, 187, hús
ok herbergi, etc.)

hús ok hýske

Sthom. 48/14-15, ...sva er cristnín hús ok
hýske allra trufastra (cf. A. Wilmart,
Catéchèses Celtiques", in Analecta Reginensia
..., Studi e Testi 59 [1933], 102/24, ...
Deinde est aeclesia locus requiei...); Nhom.
150/32, ...Vesol scepna er tu. hus þín ok hyski
stændr nu eptir þic þér til enskis gagns...
(cf. "Un Samedi Par Nuit", P 277-280, Dolente
creature,/ Con male engendreure/ Remaint en
ta maison,/ En ta posescion!; the same alliter-
ative phrase is found in the texts of the OWN
translation in AM 696 4to and JS 405 8vo; see
MS 21 [1959], 284)

hæð ok himinríki

Nhom. 91/17, Dum deus pater eum pre omnibus
sanctis et angelis in celis exaltauit. þa er

- guð faðer dyrcaðe son sin i hóð ok í
himin-riki yfir ollum helgum ok englum;
 cf. Nhom. 8/8, til himins háðar (Alc. VV,
PL 101, 619D, að œli culmina); Sthom.20/
 6-9, ...þa scolom ver hefia upp hugen til
hápar himeNsens efter honom... (see below,
 pp. 474-475); 57/26, himnesk hæð (Gr. 10
 in Ev., PL 76, 1110C, celsitudo cœlestis);
 112/28, upangr himinríkess hápar; 128/24,
 ...fiallet iarteiner himinríkess háp...
- háre oc helgare Sthom. 3/11, ...etke ma maría moper drottens
 coma í samiofnum við þra helga men. i verþ-
 leícom sínom. fyr þui at hon er þeim ællom
háre oc helgare... (PL 95, 1501B, ...et virgo
 incomparabilis est cæteris virginibus...);
 195/2, Heilog MaRia...herbirge heilags anda
 þu ert ællom helgom helgare oc háre at verþ-
 leicom.
- háþne oc hlátr Sthom. 147/14, Ec h[efe] s[ynþer] g[ort] i
 háþne oc i hlatre...
- høyrn ok heilsa Nhom. 122/25, ...gaf honum høyrn ok hælsu
 alla... (no close correspondence in Passio
Olauí, cf. Metcalfe 87/4ff.)
- iarn ok eggjar Nhom. 108/5-6, ...astvinum guðs er sva myccla
ælsco hofðu við almatkan guð at þeir gengo
 undir iórn ok æggiaR ok toko bana fyrir hans
 sakar
- ill atkváma ok áslátta diofuls Nhom. 70/17
- ill atkváma ok úhamingia Nhom. 124/8, ...fra þeim dægi til hennar enda-
 dags vítiaðe hennar aldriqi siðan su ílla at-
cvama ok u-hamingia (no close correspondence in
Passio Olauí, cf. Metcalfe, 88/27ff.)
- illr oc oskyldr Sthom. 192/21-22, Varþveíttu muN þiN fra orþom
illom oc ó skyllðom (Regula Benedicti, cap. IV,
CSEL 75 [1960], 32/51, Os suum a malo uel prabo
eloquio custodire; cf. Sthom. 142/28-29, vera

eige...fiþlmólogr)

íllr ok útrúr

Nhom. 111/11, íllr ok utrvr sem aller verða drotens svicarar

ípron oc yferbót

Sthom. 20/23; 52/3, ...legge hann a hendr sér yverbót oc ípron opockans (Ps. Aug. 117, PL 39, 1979/20-22, ...animum plenum veneno... cruciet per abstinenciam et humilitatem);
Nhom. 171/1, ...stæðr síðan fast í iðran ok í yfir-botom...

karl ok kona

Sthom. 40/34-35 (Nhom. 144/35 - 145/1), ...enge være honvm betre maþr boreN fra karle oc kono (Matt. 11:11, ...non surrexit inter natos mulierum maior Ioanne Baptista; Nhom. 107/8-9, engi være bettri fra karle ok cono boren...; see also Post. 846/15, AM 625 4to, 47r/1-2, and variant translations of the verse cit. Kirby, Biblical Quotation..., I, 163; cf., e.g., Elfric, LS, I.344,xvi, 103-105, ...þat nan mærra man næs on middanearde acenned of were and of wife); Sthom. 47/26, ...at hverR maþr . iafnt auþegr sem fateócr. vngr oc gamall. kallar oc conor. at hverR maþr scyllde giallda honom ein peNing... (cf. Wilmart, ed. "Catéchèses Celtiques...", 100/58-59,...ut unusquisque homo denarium redderet Cesari tam diues quam pauper.); 52/34, ...karlar oc konor er hreíNlfe haldeþ (Ps. Aug. 117, PL 39, 1980/5-6, ...quicumque dono Christi in corpore virgines estis); 84/5 (Nhom. 69/5) karlmaþr oc kona; 84/6-7 (Nhom.69/6); 137/4-5; 139/10; 211/23; Nhom. 92/25; 155/3-4, Hvat er þat ríki er hann sælr fæðr sinum. nema hægir menn hvartvæggia carlar ok konor er hann kóypti fra hælvi... (cf. Elfric, CH I. 264, Hvat is þat rice þat he betæcð his Fæder, buton ða halgan menn, ægoer ge weras ge wif, þa þe he alysde fram helle-wite...?; see Gunnes, 183); 168/11, 13, 28-29 (cf. Fritzner, Hertzberg, Lex. Poet., s.v. karl; Ehrhardt, 189)

- keisere oc konungr Sthom. 70/28-29, Biþiom ver fyr keisara oc konunge orom... (cf. Missale Romanum [1872], Fer. VI in Parasceve, Oratio Solemnis 4, Oremus pro Christianissimo imperatore nostro ...); cf. Oakden II, 199 cyningas ne caseras, 213 caseras and cyningas, 238 king...keiser.
- kirkia ok kennimaðr Nhom. 70/23-24 (cf. Ehrhardt, 189)
- kirkia eþa kross Sthom. 109/9-10, Fare síþan brátt til kirkia eþa krossen er þar keomr; 110/31, koma til kirkio eþa kross (cf., e.g., Bisk. I. 164, "...at sækja hvern dag, sið ok snemma, kross eða kirkju...; DN I. 627/14)
- lágr ok lítill Sthom. 3/21, ...hvatke er men mego af hugvite síno. mæla til lofs henne. þa er þat allt lágt oc litet at virþa hia lofe heilagra engla... (cf. PL 95, 1498B, ...quidquid humanis dici potest verbis, minus est a laude cæli...)
- land ok log Nhom. 110/21, hvessu mykit sa hinn helgi maðr bøtte fyrir mönnum meðan hann reð fyrir lande ok lægum. (cf. Metcalfe, 70/9-11, ... quanta beneficia populis illis rex...contulerit, quantum profuit dum prefuit, et in promulgacione legum, et in sustentacione pauperum...); cf. Ehrhardt, 192, land ok lag
- leyndr/ lióss Sthom. 136/34-37, J leyndom góþgerningom lýsom ver óst víþ guþ. en í liósom góþgerningom óst víþ meN. þui scolom vér sumom góþgerningom leýna. en suma fyr monnom lýsa. at vér eigom hvárar tveGíó synþer at beóta leýndar oc liósar; cf. Sthom. 31/32-34, ...at eigi gillde hann oss sva ena leyndre synþ at vér rasem í ena liosare oc ena torbeóttre. (cf. Ehrhardt, 193, i leynd en i ljóse).

liðr ok limr	Nhom. 17/5-6, Liðir ok limar varer (Alc. <u>VV</u> , <u>PL</u> 101, 626C, <u>Membra nostra</u>); 116/27, ...þionaðe siðan <u>hver liðr ok limr</u> rettre scepnu (Metcalf, 80/17-18, ... <u>singulis membris</u> officio suo et forme redditis...); cf. Oakden, II.330, <u>lyme and lyp</u>
líf ok líós	Nhom. 37/33 - 38/1
lítellátr oc lastvarr	Sthom. 137/22, vera lítelláter oc lastvarer
lítilláte ok lyðni	Nhom. 63/33, fyrir <u>litol-láte ok lyðni</u> ok hamnan hæms (see above, p. 85); 98/17-18, Golf-þili merkir <u>litol-láte ok lyðni</u> ok þolenmøðe (Sthom. 101/28, lítelláte oc hlýþne); cf. Sthom. 157/33-34, ...þar fylger oft litil-láte. oc hlýþni falyndino...
lofa/ lasta	Nhom. 24/4-5, Þann <u>lost</u> at <u>lofasc</u> af mōnnon í goðom værkum <u>lastaðe</u> Cristr mioc... (cf., e.g., <u>Leifar</u> , 158/8, ...er hvorke er <u>lofaðr nje lastaðr</u> = Ps. Anselm, <u>PL</u> 158, 648C, ...non <u>laudatur</u> , sed tamen non <u>vituperatur</u> ; Ehrhardt, 195, <u>lōstr ne lof</u> ; see also Sthom. 21/25-26, cit. below, s.v. <u>lāstr oc lyge</u>
log ok landsréttr	Nhom. 37/1-2, En gomlum mane hverium byriar at giata <u>laga ok landzretrar</u> (cf. <u>Ælfric</u> , <u>LS</u> I, 290, xiii, 117, ne se ealde ne beo buton æwfæstnysse; see J.T.P., "Sources...", 176); cf. Ehrhardt, 192, <u>lag ok landzens rétt</u> , <u>lagh ok landsrætt</u> (cf. also <u>læg oc landssiper</u> , below)
lok eða láss	Sthom. 93/14, ...svasem meþ lokom eða lásom (Caes. 227, <u>CCSL</u> 104, 898 [852/18], ...quasi quibusdam <u>seris ac vectibus</u> ; the phrase is omitted in the translation at Sthom. 193/14-16); cf., e.g., <u>Mar.</u> 465/9, 1141/3; Ehrhardt 193, <u>láss ok lok</u> .

- lyge oc lausung Sthom. 157/37; Nhom. 87/28 (cf., e.g., Hávamál, st. 42, 45; Fritzner, s.v. lausung)
- læg oc landssíþer Sthom. 159/8-10 ...þorþosc til laga oc landzsiþar at guþs log gengi ríkra helldr an ovenia vándra manna. eþa síþleysi svicapióþar... (with the term svicapióþ cf. Gyðinga saga, STUAGNL 6 [1881], 40/2, ...hann rekr alla svikamenn oc íllzkupjóð ór landinu...= Maccabees 9:73, ...et exterminavit impios ex Israel); cf., e.g., Strengleikar, "Equitan", 66/17, æftir logum ok landsiðom; Ehrhardt 194, lög ok landsins siðuenia.
- lastr oc lyge Sthom. 56/23, ...láta hvártke mála læst ne lyge tungu sýna...; cf. Sthom. 21/25-26, ...vill lof sit heýra a valt en virþer til lyge hveriom er hann lastar
- læstr oc lyte Sthom. 159/16, ...þeir þorþosc hverndag a móti læstom oc lýtom (cf., e.g., Leifar, 196/33, eptir hæfi lýtissens eða lastarens = PL 184, 491D, Juxta...qualitatem culpae...; Ibíd., 198/14, beiskleikr lýta ok lasta = PL 184, 493A, vitiorum...absinthium; Ehrhardt, 194, lasta alla lyti, læstar ok lyti)
- mál ok miskunn Nhom. 116/18-19, ...bað mioc gratande Olaf hinn hælga konung. léá ser mals ok hælso. Ðvi næst fecc hann mal ok miscunn af þeim góða konunge. (cf. Metcalfe, 80/10-12, ...ut lingue sue pristina redderetur sanitas cum intima cordis contricione postulans, usum loquendi quem amiserat recepit...)
- mannfiolþe/ mannmetnoþr Sthom. 112/20, Hvartke scal guþs hyggiande merkia at maNfiolþa ne at maNmetnaþe...

margr oc mikill

Sthom. 27/26, meþ sva morgom oc miklom
 tǫcnom guþ[s] miscuNar; 44/26, Nu veit ec
 át yþr mǫno þyckia vaNdǫfe mærg oc mikil
 fiNasc á life ǫro i mále mīno; Nhom. 156/18-
 19, ...þa fyrri-gæfr vár drotten oss mis-
giærningar varar margar ok mycclar...; 156/
 21-22, ...misgiærningar mycclar ok margar
 (cf. Ælfric, CH I.266/27-28, ...ure synna
mycele and manega); cf. Sthom. 53/17-18,
 ...þeim verþr mart fyr gefet er mikit aN.
 Luke 7:47, cit. Ps. Aug. 117, PL 39, 1980/
 57, Cui multum dimittitur, multum diligit;
 cf. Kirby, Biblical Quotation..., I.241);
 64/23, ...miklar virþinglar eþa mǫrg hogende
 ...; Nhom. 110/32, ...var með honum marga
 daga í mykilli sǫmd. (cf. Metcalfe, 71/23 -
 72/1, ...in honore amplissimo, quamdiu ibi
 morari uoluit, habitus est); cf., e.g., Oakden,
 II.223, 243, manig and micel, manie ant mikle.

matr ok mungát

Nhom. 89/10-11, ...sva sem licamr-en þarf
matar ok mungáz ... sva scal sálo mannz
 lifa við guðs orð... (See J.T.P., "Sources...",
 178: Basil, Admonitio ad Filium Spiritualem,
 ch. xii, Sicut enim ex carnalibus escis alitur,
 ita ex divinis eloquiis interior homo nutritur
 et pascitur; cf. Nhom. 36/32, Sua sem likamr
 mannz lifir við matt ok drycc...; Ælfric, LS,
 I, 288, xiii, 89, Swa swa se lichoma leofað
 be hlafe and drence...); cf. Ehrhardt, 195.

mein oc myrcr

Sthom. 45/23, í mein oc í myrcr (see myrkr
ok mein, below)

meire/ minne

Sthom. 41/35-36, ...virþom eoss siálfer mīNa
 sem vér hofom meira lán af goþe; 65/13, ...
 bæþe af enom mīNom synþom oc enom meirom;
 107/5-6, ...huárt sem oss er boþet meira eþa
mīNa; 162/6-7, ...eigi mīNi ne meiri heldr

- samíafn feþrnom; 211/20, ...allan lícam s
lostu og sargon meíre og míNe scolom vér
rákja. (cf. Ehrhardt, 195)
- metorþ mikil og morþ fiár Sthom. 153/26
- milde/ miscunn Sthom. 50/23, þu en fra bára míllde og
miscuN... (Ps. Aug. 117, PL 39, 1977/
54-55, ...pietas immensa...misericordia
publica...); 204/35, fyr miscuN og míllde
dróttens várs iesu críz (Epistola Luciani,
PL 41, 815/51-52, ...propter cælestem ejus
thesaurum misericordiæ et pietatis); Nhom.
91/22, míldi og miscun er droten vár hefir
við ós (cf., e.g., Thóm. I, 69/17, 70/22;
Ehrhardt, 196, míldleikr ok miscunn)
- míldr ok meínlauss Nhom. 119/6 (Metcalf, 83/4, simplex et
innocens)
- míldr og miscunnarfullr Sthom. 194/25, Styrçþu míc guþ míN mílldr
og miscuNar[fulr] (see van Arkel, 357 ad loc.)
- míldr ok mískunnsamr Nhom. 108/31, míldr at sanmu ok miscunsamr
(see above, p. 40 ; cf., e.g., Stjórn,
314/19-20, Heyrdu drottin. mílldr ok mískunn-
samr. styrkr ok þólinmodr. sannr ok fullr
míkillar mískunnar = Ex. 34:6, Dominator
Domine Deus, misericors et clemens, patiens
et multa miserationis, ac verax; Ehrhardt,
196, míldr ok mískunnsamr)
- mísgrandu ok míspyrma Nhom. 153/19, Nu er þat unndarlect hvi
fiand-en er sva díarft at hann þorer mí-
granda og míspyrma því er guðs sonr þolde
dauða fyrir. (cf. "Un Samedi Par Nuit", P
1020-24, ...Dient que c'est grant tort,/
Que lí siens anemis/ Est tant poesteis./
Que íce uolt saisir,/ Por coi il uolt morir;

- see MS 21 [1959], 289, JS 405 8vo, granda
edr misþyrma; Ehrhardt, 195, mein gera eða
misþyrma)
- miscunn oc mennzca Sthom. 182/28 (Nhom. 50/20), Veitom vér
miscuN oc mensco nængom órom at ver megem
nióta þeirRar miscuNar er dominus tók maNdom
a sic fyr oss.
- morþ oc manndráp Sthom. 147/6, Hefe ec synþer gort i morþe
oc i maNdrape.
- muncar oc meylar Sthom. 160/31
- myrkr ok mein Nhom. 89/2-3, þar er ei oc ei myrcr ok mæin...
(cf., e.g., Elucidarius, ANOH [1858], 163,
myrkra iord ok meina [Job 10:22, Lefèvre,
448, terra (miseriae et) tenebrarum], cit.
Kirby, Biblical Quotation..., I.28; Barl.
145/10, til myrkra oc meina = Ps. Ioh. Dam.
95/32, barathriis ac præcipitiis); see mein
oc myrcr, above.
- mótttr oc milde Sthom. 80/8 (Nhom. 59/7), Allt gerer seN
gups mótttr oc millde (cf. Ps. Aug. 136 [Faustus
of Riez], PL 39, 2015/20, O misericordia simul
et potentia Dei!)
- meópi / meinseme Sthom. 32/19, ...bæpe erfæpe oc móþe oc
morg þessa heims meínseme
- óðal ok eignir Nhom. 117/3, Brøðr tveir váro í Vic austr kyn-stórer
menn oc feaðr vél atto þar oðal ok æignir
allar (cf. Metcalfe, 80/21-22, Erant duo
uiri fratres, et hii genere clari habundantes
in seculo obtinebant diuitias.); cf. Ehrhardt,
197, óðal ok eignir; 180, eign ok óðal.

oddr ok egg

Nhom. 36/6, ...costom við at nema pater noster oc credo. ok kenna siðan fram á læið hverr sinu barne. fyrir því at þat er bæðe oddr ok æg í mot allre costan fiandans... (the word-play, costom við ...í mot costan..., is probably deliberate; on the Pater Noster as a weapon see R.J. Menner, The Poetical Dialogues of Solomon and Saturn [1941], 112, n. ad I.90); cf., e.g., Ehrhardt, 197, odder ok æg, oddr ok egg; Oakden, II.196, 201, ord ond ecg; 333, of egge and ord.

ofát oc ofdryckia

Sthom. 103/16-17, forþasc hon ofát [oc] ofdryckio; 143/14-15, þetta líf eGiar galása meN til ofáts oc ofdryckio (Acta S. Sebastiani, PL 17, 1116D, Ipsa dat edacitatem gluttonibus, ipsa ebrietatem ingerit temulentis...), 145/6 (Ibid., 1119D edacitas gulæ; cf. AM 238 fol. XII, ed. cit., 110/10, ofdryckia); 147/21; 185/21, 23-24 (Nhom. 55/31, 34-35, af-át ok af-dryccia); 213/11; Nhom.15/7, þar sem þeir sia opt framt værða of-át ok of-dryccio (Alc., VV, PL 101, 625A, ubi videbunt frequenter comessationes et ebrietates exerceri); 33/29; 74/21 af-át ok af-dryckia; cf. Sthom. 192/13-14, Vestu eige ofmetnaþar maþr. oc eige ofdryckio maþr. oc eige of atz maþr... (Regula Benedicti, cap. IV, CSEL 75 [1960], 31/34-36, Non esse superbum, non uinolentum [var. uiolentum]; cf. Sthom. 142/23-24, ...vera eige metnaþar maþr. oc eige æfundsamr. eige ofdryckiomaþr. ne acafliga geR...)

ofdryckia eða offylli

Nhom. 33/32

ofmetnaþr oc æfund

Sthom. 44/12; 78/25, i ofmetnaþe eþa i ofund eþa i orþom illom; 107/21; 147/5; 158/20; see

	also Sthom. 94/10, <u>æfund</u> oc <u>hatri heíft</u> oc <u>ofmetnabí</u> , and 142/23-24, <u>cit.</u> above, <u>s.v. ofát oc ofdryckia</u>)
ofmetnaðr ok ulyóni	Nhom. 63/31 (see above, p. 85)
okeónsca/ illska	Sthom. 68/7-8, ...misgerþo meíR af <u>illsco en af okónsko</u> . (Nhom. 79/13-14, ... <u>æigi af o-kónsko. hældr af illsco...</u>); cf. Ehrhardt, 188, <u>illzka ok uvizka</u> .
okeónsca eþa ostyrþ	Sthom. 68/14 (Nhom. 79/20-21), torbøtre ero þær synþer...er af illsco ero gorvar. en hinar er <u>af okeónsco eþa ostyrþ</u> verþa framþar...
onýtr / illgiarnleg	Sthom. 185/12 (Nhom. 55/22), ...es eige vill heýra <u>ónýt orþ</u> ne <u>illgiarnleg</u> ... (cf. Bede, I.18, <u>CCSL</u> 122, 78/202-203, ...qui sepiunt aures suas spinis ne audiant linguam <u>nequam...</u>)
óp oc ákall	Sthom. 44/33, ...þa muno guþs englar wekia upp af ðaúþa alla þióþ þa es veret hefer her i heime <u>meþ ópi micklo oc meþ ákalle</u> (cf. Ehrhardt, 197, <u>op ok akallan</u>)
orackláte oc omennzca	Sthom. 147/10-11
oreóþ oc omennzca	Sthom. 22/6-7, <u>Lótom</u> ver oss <u>óróþena alla</u> oc <u>ómenzcona leíþa vera...</u>
orþ oc atferþ	Sthom. 160/24, bæpi. i orþom sinom. oc i atferþom, 160/30
orþ oc eyrende	Sthom. 4/19

ovitr oc omále

Sthom. 184/25 (Nhom. 52/29), ...hveria epter glikeNg megem vér gera barna þessa es vér holldom hótíp í dag. þar es þar væro öllum óvitar en sum ómála (cf. Ehrhardt, 205, úmáli ok úviti). The final section of this homily for Holy Innocents [Sthom. 184/23-37; Nhom. 52/27 - 53/11] is not based on the principle source for the text, Bede, I.10, CCSL 122, 68-72. The list of the characteristics of a child at Sthom. 184/30-32 [Nhom. 53/1-4] is a late patristic commonplace: ...siá sveiN helldr eige lengi heift i hiarta þót hann verþe reiþr. oc girnesc eige til gólegrar cono þót hann sé. oc hyggr eige aNat en hann mále...; cf., e.g., Bede, In Marc., PL 92, 230D-231A, Puer non perseverat in iracundia, non læsus meminit, non videns pulchram mulierem delectatur, non aliud cogitat, aliud loquitur. Pierre Riché, Education and Culture in the Barbarian West, 453, n.48, cites examples of the formula from Columban and Isidore.)

racna/ réna

Sthom. 95/20, ...hvárt hann láti racna nacqvát eþa réna tru eþa vinfengi við mic; 96/30, ...lét eige réna ne racna trú oc áóst við guþ.

ranglátr/ réttlátr

Sthom. 118/4, sól sína látr skína iafnt á rangláta sem á réttlata (Matt. 5:45, ...qui solem suum oriri facit super bonos et malos ...); Nhom. 6/3-4, ok sva regner yfir rangláta sem yfir retlata (Matt. 5:45, cit. Alc. VV, PL 101, 618A, ...et pluit super justos et injustos; cf. Kirby, Biblical Quotation..., I.147-148); Sthom. 144/22, ...þar er réttláter hafa eilífan veg. en rangláter eilífa pining (Acta S. Sebastiani, PL 17, 1119B, ...utrum possit ... ipsa æternitas vel honorem tradere justis vel injustis pœnam

	inferre; cf. AM 238 fol. XII, <u>ed. cit.</u> , 109/7-10, ...huor<t> [s]a odædleikr se með rettlatum monnum æ(da) syndögum til vegs retlatum. en hinum með eilifum pislum.)
rangláte/ réttláte	Sthom. 192/12-13, ...þola rangláte af æþrom fyr rettláte þiT (<u>Regula Benedicti</u> , cap. IV, <u>CSEL</u> 75 [1960], 31/33, <u>Persecutionem pro iustitia</u> sustinere; cf. Sthom. 142/22, þola vel meíngørþer...)
rangr/ rétttr	Sthom. 155/9-10, ...seger hann þat <u>rét</u> er <u>rangt</u> er en þat <u>rangt</u> er <u>rét</u> er (cf. Ehrhardt, 198, <u>rét ok rangt</u>)
reinlega ok réttlega	Nhom. 100/15, ...gerum æigi Crist <u>ræiðan</u> er með oss vil vera ef vér haldum ós <u>reinlega ok retlega</u> (cf. Caes. 229, <u>CCSL</u> 104, 909 [864/10-11], ...ne...Christo iniuriam faciamus, qui in nobis habitare desiderat.)
reiþe oc rangláte	Sthom. 158/19
réttlega oc reókelega	Sthom. 15/27-28, ...at halda <u>réttlega</u> hotíþer postola oc røkelega; cf. Nhom. 10/12 <u>ranglega ok o-røkelega</u> (cf. Alc. VV, PL 101, 621B, ... <u>negligentes</u>).
réttynde/ rangynde	Sthom. 198/38 - 199/1, hann lícnar hveriom <u>meþ rettyndom</u> . oc fyr deómer enge <u>meþ rangyndom</u> (cf. Ehrhardt, 198)
ríða ok renna	Nhom. 129/17 (cf. Metcalfe, 94/20 - 95/2, <u>cit. above</u> , p. 83 ; Ehrhardt, 198, <u>renna ok ríða, rípa ok rænna</u>)
ríke oc réttláte	Sthom. 95/32, Leítip ér fyrst qvaþ hann oc biþit <u>gups ríkiss oc réttlátis</u> (Matt. 6:33, <u>Quærite ergo primum regnum Dei, et iustitiam eius</u> ; the same alliterative collocation is found in translations of the verse at <u>Post.</u>

49/30, 173/12, HMS II.338/4; see Kirby, Biblical Quotation..., I.154.)

sacar oc synþer

Sthom. 45/29, ...at hann fyr gefe oss sakar oc synþer; 194/17-18, þu siálfr synþa lauss oc saka...; Nhom. 156/26, ...þa man faðer yðar fyr-gefa yðr sacar ok syndir (cf. Ælfric, CH, I, 266/30-31, ...and eower Fæder, þe on heofonum is, forgyfð eow eowre synna); cf., e.g., the runic inscription on the Sālma stone (eleventh/ twelfth century; E. Wessén and S.B.F. Jansson, ed., Upplands Runinskrifter 2:1 = Sveriges Runinskrifter 7 [1943-46], 45, cit. Walter, Lex. Lehn., 127) Guð hialpi hans and ok selu, forgefi hanum sakaR ok syndiR; K. von See, Altnordische Rechtswörter, Hermaea 16 (1964), 225; Ehrhardt, 199, sakir ok syndir.

saurr ne synþ

Sthom. 144/15, af þeire feótslo er eige saúrr ne synþ (Acta S. Sebastiani, PL 17, 1119A, ...et ista refectio non potest in digestionem prorumpere; cf. AM 238 fol. XII, ed. cit., 108/8, ...þar gerir eigi fæzsla sår i kúidi); cf. the compound synþa-saurr: Sthom. 93/7, 180/20 (Nhom. 48/7), 190/5 (Bede I.14, CCSL 122, 98/99, peccatorum sordes); Nhom. 5/25 (Alc., VV, PL 101, 617D, peccatorum sordes), 64/17, 104/11, Nhom. 143/7 (cf. Gr. 34 in Ev., PL 76, 1256A, maculae pulveris nostri; Sthom. 92/30, synþa dust); and Sthom. 55/5, saúrgon synþareNar (Bede I. 11, CCSL 122, 75/68, peccati contagio); see Walter, Lex. Lehn., 106f., saurga, saurlífi.

siukr/ sárr

Nhom. 88/19, ...þær ero retir aumingiar. blindir menn ok haltir ok daufir. siukir ok sarer. líkþraer ok væilir...; 118/10, ...sem hann hafðe hvarke orðet siucr eða

- sár (Metcalfe, 82/1, ...ut nichil omnino passus uideretur); cf. e.g., Barl. 195/2, sivk oc sar af kjarleik astar þinnar (Ps. Ioh. Dam. 124/39, Vulnerata charitate); Ehrhardt, 200, sjúkr eða sárr.
- skilia oc skýra Sthom. 162/1, ...eigi es þat vaNt at skilia oc scýra
- skírór/ skilór Nhom. 54/32, ...sva ganga litillatir in í himnesca Ierusalém með fornom goðra værca skiróir ok skilóir fra ollum dæuð- legum ustyrcóum a dōmsdæigi (cf. Bede, I.11, CCSL 122, 77/140-144, ...Vera enim circumcissione purgatus templum domini cum muneribus ingreditur qui gloria resurrectionis ab omni labe mortalitatis excoctus cum bonorum fructibus operum supernæ ciuitatis gaudia sempiterna subit; cf. Sthom. 55/26-27, ...skilþer við æll meín aNdar oc likama a dōmsdege...)
- scæpon oc scialseme oc sceiton Sthom 157/37.
- sleógp oc saurlífe Sthom. 157/36
- sleógp/ suic Sthom. 158/6, ...at hon snuisc eigi til sleógp̃ar eþa til suika.
- sorg/ sárleikr Nhom. 32/12-13, Þar er ægi...sorg ne sarlæicr (cf., e.g., D. Bethurum, "The connection of the Katherine Group with Old English Prose", JEGP 34 [1935], 562 -- sar and sorg, sorhe ne sar, etc.; Oakden II. 201, 207, 216, 224, 245, 255, 260, 337)
- sótt oc sárleicr Sthom. 169/7, ...í vesolþ veralldar þessar. í sōttom oc sárleigk... (cf., e.g., Elucidarius: Hauksbók 483/4-5, Fyr vtan alla synð ok sōtt

eða sárleik = Lefèvre, 384, sine sorde
et sine dolore; Stjórn 21/8-9, ...fæddr
 utan allrar sutar ok sárleiks; Ehrhardt,
 202, sot ælir sar)

sótt oc sorg

Sthom. 32/5-6, ...fra synþom oc svikom.
sóttom oc sorgom...; 32/13 (cf. 32/20,
sótt oc daúpe. særg oc vmboge); 60/1, fyr
sút oc sorg (Gr. 10, in Ev., PL 76, 1113D,
per lamenta); Nthom. 88/32, þar er æigi sut
ne sorg...; 89/2-3, ...myrcr ok mæin ok
sut ok sorg (cf., e.g., Thóm. I, 462/8-9,
Maríu s. 23, 363)

sótt oc synþ

Sthom. 40/10 (Nthom. 144/9), ...hon var
 verþ at...bera af síno holde guþ oc maN
 hingat í heím ón sótt oc synþ (cf., e.g.,
Hauksbók, 483/4-5, cit. above, s.v. sótt
oc sárleicr); cf. the compound synþasótt:
 Sthom. 96/27, Nthom. 12/10-11 (Alc., VV,
 PL 101, 622D, peccatorum ægritudo); 59/35.

staþfeste/ stiórn

Sthom. 157/34-35, staþfesti hugscotz oc
stiórn atferþar

suic oc synþ

Sthom. 32/5-6, 12-13, 16, fyr svicom oc
 synþom

syner/ sameilífer

Sthom. 161/21, ...aller þeir er víþ honom
tóco oc trúþo a hann...gaf hann þat velldi.
 at þeir urþo syner hans oc sameilífir honom.
 (John. 1:12, Quotquot autem receperunt eum,
Dedit eis potestatem filios Dei fieri...;
 see Kirby, Biblical Quotation..., I.279)

synþ/secþ

Sthom. 55/1, ...leýsto sik af bændom eNar
fyrsto synþar eþa secþar... (Bede I.11, CCSL
 122, 75/63-65, ...suas suorumque animas...a
primi reatus uinculis absoluere curabant);

141/20, ...þa monu þeir farasc með meiri
seð af synþom sínóm... (cf., e.g., Stjórn
55/8, ...þa reiddiz gud þeirra syndum ok
sektum...

synþogr/ secr

Sthom. 3/13-16, En þót ver villdem við
leita synþger men oc seker marga gagngerþa
við gub. at lofa móþor hans a hótíþar dege
sínóm. þa er míoc uggaNða. at eige mege
sømelect verþa í muNe oss lof hennar (cf.
PL 95, 1498B, Ex quo timeo satis, et valde
per timesco...ne forte sicut improbus, ita
et indignus laudator inveniar); cf., e.g.,
Andreas s. post. I, Post. 337/7, ...unz þeir
fara ut or likomum sinum sekir ok syndugir...
(A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, ed., Acta Apostol-
orum Apocrypha 2.1 [1898, rpt. 1959], 5/1-2,
...quamdiu de corpore exeant rei et nudi...)

teygja eþa temia

Sthom. 119/5-6, ...hvárt sem hyGíaNde aNðans
þarf at teygja eþa temia...

tíð ok tala

Nhom. 70/30, ...lýða vél tíðum ok tálum
kenni-manna...

toga ok tøygia

Nhom. 116/7, ...toc hendi sinni í mun hænum
ok hæimti til sin þann litla stuf er eptir
stoð tungunnar. ok togaðe sva hart ok tøygói
at sá ungi maðr fec æigi þolat...u-øþande
(Metcalf 80/3-6, ...manu sua os adolescentis
aperiens, lingue truncate partem que remans-
erat tanta uirtute extraxit et extendit, ut
uiolenciam conaminis adolescens ferre non
ualens...clamare cogeretur); cf. Nhom. 118/4-6,
...toc hann til tungunnar ok togaðe til sín
tungu-røtrnar með sva mycclu afle at prestr-en
cvað við oc øpte... (Metcalf, 81/29-31,
...lingue radices tanto extraxit conamine, ut,
nimio dolore coactus, clamorem maximum sacerdos
emitteret.)

trúfeste oc tárfelling	Sthom. 157/34
tala/ teygja	Sthom. 185/28-30 (Nhom. 56/4-7), Oráð- vandra Qvena vanþe es at bera í hús sín ilmande urter at þær <u>tále</u> með þessom ilm oc <u>teýge til sín</u> þa meN es eige cuNo sia viþ vélom þeiRa... (cf. Bede I.11, <u>CCSL</u> 122, 78/196-199, Incircumcisi olfactu et tactu qui unguento et uariis odoribus sunt delibuti, qui sequuntur amplexus meretricis aspergentis cubile suum myrra et aloe et cinamomo)
úáran ok úfriðr	Nhom. 37/22, ...þa vil var drotten os beria fyrir þat. bæðe með mann-dauða ok <u>úáran ok ufriði</u> . ok hvi-vitni er ilt er... (cf. <u>Tractatus de rectitudine catholicae</u> <u>conversationis</u> , PL 40, 1177/16-18, ...in vobis venient plagae ab eodem Moyse prae- dictae, pestilentia scilicet, fames et gladius...; see J.T.P., "Sources...", 180)
úsæll ok aumr	Nhom. 149/3, <u>Vsæl ok áumr</u> . illu hæille var þu fœðr... ("Un Samedi Par Nuit", P 53-54, <u>Chaitis, maleures</u> ,/ Mal fuisses onques nes...)
útlenzkr eða innlenzkr	Nhom. 92/25, ...viðr-scripti <u>utlencra eða</u> <u>inlencra</u> ... (cf. Ehrhardt, 205, <u>útlenzkr</u> <u>ok innlenzkr</u>)
útlenzkr/ úskyldr/ úvínr	Nhom. 64/ 29-30, ...ðugir ægi at æins frændum sinum ok vinum. hælðr ok <u>utlencum</u> <u>ok oscyldum ok u-vinum</u> ...
válaþ oc vílsipr	Sthom. 32/21

válc oc vandræpe	Sthom. 45/20, ...hon lífr þa a bac <u>váلكom</u> þeim oc vaNdræþom ollom þeim. es hon þolþe i þessom heime... (cf. Ehrhardt, 208, <u>volk ok vandræði</u> ; Fritzner, Hertzberg, s.v. <u>váلك</u>)
veinandi ok válandi	Nhom. 169/32, þa fara þessir <u>veinande ok valande</u> með fianda til hálvitis...
válaðr ok vistlauss	Nhom. 77/14, Briot þu <u>brouð</u> þit fyrir hungraðan. ok læið <u>in valaða ok vist-lausa</u> i hus þit... (Isaiah 58:7, <u>cit. Gr. 16 in Ev.</u> , PL 76, 1138A, Frange esurienti panem tuum, et egenos vagosque induc in domum tuam...; Kirby, <u>Biblical Quotation...</u> , I.104)
vit ok vísdómr	Nhom. 37/3-4, ...ungir menn eigu lýðnir at vera þeim mannum er þeim kenna <u>vit ok visdóm</u> (cf. Elfric, <u>LS I</u> , 290, xiii, 118, ne se iunga ne beo butan gehyrsumnysse; see J.T.P., "Sources...", 176); Nhom.159/1-2, En her þurfum ver goðra gærninga ok <u>vitt</u> at nema ok <u>vis-dóm</u> . at visum boc-lærðom man(n)um (cf. Elfric, <u>CH I.270/31</u> , Her we behofiað lare and wisdomes); cf., e.g., Oskden, II.311, 342, 363, <u>wit and wisdom</u> .
þiðnar oc þýiár	Sthom. 32/24, ...at nu sém vér diofols mansmeN oc <u>synþa þiðnar oc þýiár</u> .
þrétenn ne þiorcodriúgr	Sthom. 142/29-30, ...vera eige <u>þrátin ne þiorkudriúgr</u> (cf. <u>Regula Benedicti</u> , cap. IV, <u>CSEL 75 [1960]</u> , 33/68, <u>Contentionem non amare</u>)
ætt ok eign	Nhom. 168/26, Engi er sva gafugr <u>at ætt eða at eignum</u> ...at þenna dom mege flyia.
æðe ok uskap	Nhom. 115/15, Vita þotest hon þegar <u>øðe ok u-scap</u> þes illa mannz... (Metcalf, 79/2-3,

Illa, quia peruersitatem hominis nouerat...)

æfund oc illzka

Sthom. 166/2-3, ...þeir hæfþo hann selldan mansali fyr æfuNdar sacar oc ilzco (Gr. 38 in Ev., PL 76, 1286B, ...per malitiam venditores fratris fuerunt); cf., e.g., Stjórn 246/31, ...af sinni eiginni aufund ok illzku ...; see also Nhom. 115/2, illr ok ofund-fullr (Metcalf, 78/10, odibilis et prauus)

æfund oc ofmetnaþr

Sthom. 44/12, varna víþ ofmetnaþe oc æfund; 78/25, i ofmetnaþe eþa i ofund eþa i orþom illom; 94/10, ...æfund oc hatri heift oc ofmetnaþi...; 107/21, ...ofund oc ofmetnaþ. dramb. háþne oc atfyndle...; 147/5, J æfund oc i ofmetnaþe; 158/20, ...æfund oc ofmetnaþ. eítr es slíct callat; Nhom. 35/26, 31, fyrir ofund oc ofmetnað fello englar guðs af himnum

æfundarlaus oc ástarfullr

Sthom. 120/20-21

óst oc elsca

Sthom. 15/30, ...su er óst oc elsca a miþlom heilagra manna...; 78/17-18, ...meþ óst oc meþ elsco þeþe víþ guþ oc víþ nōnga óra; 153/2, ...ef berom...óst oc elsco víþ guþ oc víþ meN; 198/36, ...scolom vér þat gera af óst oc af elsco. en eige af heift ne af reiþe; cf. Nhom. 42/16, ...hafna æigi nangs ælsco fyrir guðs øst; Sthom. 61/5, ...Óst at hann se fullr af elsko guþs oc nægns (H.L. Spencer, "A Lost Penitential Homily Found...", MS 44 [1982], 283/4-5, Caritas ut sit plenus in dilectione Dei et proximi...; cf. J. Turville-Petre, Traditio 19 [1963], 57)

óst/ yferbót

Sthom. 136/5-6, ...þeþe til ástar víþ guþ. oc til yfer botar synþa várra...

Cursus

In two articles ("Traces of Latin prose-rhythm in Old Norse Literature", and "Cursus in Old Norse Literature") Jakob Benediktsson has attempted to find in Sthom. and Nhom. (among other OWN prose texts) examples of cursus, the stylized accented period-endings commonly used in twelfth-century Latin prose.¹ He concentrates on the four principal cursus-patterns:

- I. cursus planus, of the type videbis armatum
- II. cursus tardus, of the type laudabis iustitiam
- III. cursus velox, of the type omnia perdidissent (or with a final disyllabic word: omnibus dona dedit)
- IV. cursus dispondaicus aut trispondaicus, of the type esse videatur, or sometimes with six syllables in the last word: apostolicam benedictionem.²

Unfortunately, for most of the texts he examines, Jakob presents only statistical counts of cursus-types in lieu of examples. Only in his first article does he provide a short sample list of phrases from the Nhom. Olaf-legend which would appear to correspond to cursus-patterns:³

I. planus

1. Pál póstólē sēgír (109/5-6)
2. almatkōm guðí (109/19)
3. hāfðē hann vērēt (109/27)
4. mýkillí iðran (109/34)
5. alsconar villu (110/1)
6. lāndē ok lāgum (110/21)
7. anzscotans aflē (110/23-24)
8. vāpnūm at sciptā (110/27-28)

II. tardus

9. almatígs scapāra (110/4)
10. með öllum þeim fiarlútum (113/28)

11. til hialpa. ok miscunnar (116/1)
12. of-mykin yfir-gang (110/15)
13. mairi en manzvaxtar (113/23)
14. hus er hann hvilir i (113/23)

III. velox

15. toc hann a guo at trva (109/2-3)
16. ahvggiu er hann hafoe (109/10-11)
17. hanum a hendi folget (109/14-15)
18. hafnaoo haidnum dome (109/22)
19. dofa i haidnum dome (109/29)
20. guos sakar i pema haimi (111/33-34)
21. drotens er raor. ok rikir (113/34)
22. honum til lofs ok dyroar (114/33)

IV. dispondaicus/ trispondaicus

23. ennda-lausan fagnaoo (109/28-29)
24. holaitlega dyrlect haimbooo⁴ (111/22-23)
25. Olafs-messo hina fyrri (111/29)
26. Olafs-messo aptan (113/15)
27. a'hann haitit ser til biarga (114/35)
28. hvit a hvarmom baoom (118/13-14)

Jakob estimates that in the Nhom. Olaf-legend "the first three types of cursus make up rather more than 65% of the sentence endings and type IV about 12%. Of the rest only about 8% end with a stressed syllable".⁵ It is impossible to dispute these figures without a complete list of examples; but it is disturbing to notice that at least three of the phrases he cites in his sample list (7, 21, 22) do not occur at the ends of clauses.⁶ And many of his other examples (esp. 1, 2, 3, 9, 25, 26) are of such an utterly commonplace character that it is difficult to believe without further evidence that their rhythmical form can only

be due to influence from Latin cursus.⁷

Jakob suggests, "since the original Latin follows the cursus rules more or less consistently, the use of cursus in the translation is all the more natural".⁸ Again, however, he fails to support this statement with examples. As Anne Holtsmark has demonstrated, the author of the homily "Jn die sancti Olai..." cannot have translated directly from the vita in Eysteinn Erlendsson's Passio et Miracula Beati Olai, but must have worked from an older Latin original also used by Eysteinn.⁹ The ON text of the miracles, however, follows the Latin of Eysteinn's miracle-collection more faithfully, and it is interesting to compare examples of cursus in passages where the two texts are reasonably close. (A dash [-] indicates that none of the four traditional cursus-patterns is found in the passage cited.)

Nhom. 113/27-30 (tardus; tardus)

En eptir þann holæita sigr. þa
vendi hann hæim or þeirri glaðr ok
fegin með öllum þeim fiarlutum. ok
let gera þegar roðo sva myccla ór
silfri at allz costar er hon lengri
ok mæiri en manzvaxtar.

Metcalfe, 76/15-16 (planus;
dispondaicus):

Inopinata ergo potitus uictoria,
et cum multis spoliis et leticia
magnā reuersus, crucem fecit
argenteam noue magnitudinis, longe
humani corporis modum excedentem ...

118/13-14 (dispondaicus):

...þa grere ár hvít á hvarmum
báðom

82/4 (tardus):

...remansit in palpebris cicatrix
candida

118/20-21 (planus?):

gáðe æigi sialfr at drotens-dagr
stoð á þeim dægi.

82/12 (velox):

...inmemor quod dominica dies
esset.

118/22-23 (planus):

...engi maðr þorer at vinna umm
hotiðir. hvarke mykit ne litit.

82/13-14 (dispondaicus):

...nec ullus aliquid operis magni
uel parui facere presumit

118/24-25 (tardus):

...ok þorðe æigi at sǣgia at
hǣilǣgt vǣr.

118/28-29 (tardus):

...samcaðe upp sponum ok brændi
á hendi sér.

119/8 (tardus):

...mǣir fyrir illzo saccar en
sannynda.

119/12-13 (velox):

...þa vǣnte hann sér ængra hialpa
eða biarga af oðrum mǣnnum.

119/18-19 (tardus):

þeir vǣndu menn fara sinni illzu
fram við þann armingia.

119/27 (planus):

...þa clæif sunr hans upp í tre
þat sem hann hēcc við.

120/1-2 (planus):

...hann toc at hug-læiða sem
dræumr hǣfði veret.

120/21-22 (planus):

...heftu með oðrum hǣr-fængnum
mǣnnum.

123/11-12 (dispondaicus):

...ok syndi hann os á sinum
límum iarna stað ok bannda.

82/15-16 (planus):

...nec tamen aperte ausus dicere
quod dominica esset...

82/19-20 (dispondaicus):

...collectas super manum suam
igne adhibito combussit.

83/5-6 (planus):

...non iusticie, sed odii causa

83/9 (-)

...de humano prorsus desperat
auxilio.

83/13-14 (velox):

Ex adipe prodiit iniquitas eorum;
absque mora transiit in effectum.

83/21-22 (dispondaicus):

...filius eius ascendit arborem,
cui suspensus adherebat.

84/6 (dispondaicus):

...uisionem uelud sompnium
recolens

84/23-24 (velox):

...cum aliis captiuis in custodia
strictissime mancipatur.

87/23-24 (planus):

...et in membris eius ferramentorum
uestigia conspiceremus.

It would clearly be pointless to cite further examples. Any correspondences between cursus-patterns in the Latin and ON texts which might

appear in a more exhaustive catalogue would more likely be the result of chance than design.¹⁰ And to argue that the translator felt he could substitute any cursus-type for any other in the Latin text makes the notion of "imitation" so broad as to be almost meaningless.¹¹

This is not to deny the existence of the rhythmical patterns observed by Jakob Benediktsson in the *Nhom. Olaf-legend*. The following passage, for instance, from the St. Olaf's day homily, is remarkable for its insistent concatenation of "planus-like" and "tardus-like" phrases (109/33 - 110/4):

...Siðan snerez folc allt til astar við guð með mykilli iðran.
nittu þá hæiðni ok alsconar villu. Enngi maðr fær þat oðrum sagt
 hvessu mykil fagnaðr fylgði þeim goða manne ok var á því er hann
 sa Noregs menn vända frá heiðni ok anscötans villu. ok ganga til
miscunar almatigs scapara.¹²

The passage is clearly meant to recall the antithetical description of pre-Christian Norway in the opening sentences of the homily (*Nhom.* 108/15-16):

...Þat var bygt til scamrar stundar mykilli <villu> [Indrebø's addition] ok margsconar ó-sið...

Further, better documented studies of such rhythmical patterns in OWN prose would be necessary to determine which "cursus-types" would come more naturally to the lips of a speaker or the pen of a translator.

Jakob himself observes that "sentence endings corresponding to cursus dispondaicus (type IV) are very common and natural to the normal speech rhythm of Old Norse".¹³ Similarly, one might note of example 6 in his sample list, that any bisyllabic word-pair linked by ok naturally forms a planus (gaman ok gleði, beria ok beysta, frá sóttum ok sorgum, etc.)¹⁴

1. See "Traces of Latin prose-rhythm in Old Norse Literature", The Fifth Viking Congress. Tórshavn, July 1965 (1968), 17-24; "Cursus in Old Norse Literature", Medieval Scandinavia 7 (1974), 15-21. The origins of the cursus are obscure, and as Karl Strecker notes (Introduction to Medieval Latin, trans. and rev. R.B. Palmer [1965], 88, n.3) various theories of how and when this system of rhythmical endings came into being have been proposed. Whether ultimately the invention of fourth-century African authors or the product of the fifth-century imperial chancelleries, however, the cursus clearly flourished in twelfth-century Latin, in part as the result of efforts to reform its use in the Papal Chancery (cf. Strecker, '90; Tore Jansson, Prose Rhythm in Medieval Latin from the 9th to the 13th Century. Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 20 [1975], 63ff., has pointed out that the role of John of Gaeta in the "revival" of the use of cursus in the twelfth century has been exaggerated by scholars; he demonstrates, 35ff., that cursus was in continuous use in Italy from the ninth through the eleventh century). See generally Jansson *passim*; G. Lindholm, Studien zum mittellateinischen Prosarhythmus: Seine Entwicklung und sein Abklingen in der Briefliteratur Hafens. Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 10 (1963); Wilhelm Meyer, "Die rhythmische lateinische Prosa", Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Prosarhythmus II (1905), 236-286; A.C.Clark, The Cursus in medieval and Vulgar Latin (1910); K. Polheim, Die lateinische Reimprosa (1925); 73-83; M. G. Nicolau, L'Origine du "cursus" rythmique..., Collection d'Études Latines, V (1930); N. Denholm-Young, "The Cursus in England", in Oxford Essays Presented to H.E. Salter (1934, rpt. 1968), 68-103; and further bibliography cited by Strecker, 86-90.

Jakob Benediktsson's studies can also be compared with similar efforts to find cursus-rhythms in Old English texts: see esp. P.F. van Draat, "Voluptas aurium", Englische Studien 48 (1914-15), 394-428; "The Cursus in Old English Poetry", Anglia 38 (1914), 377-404; "The authorship of the Old English Bede: A Study in Rhythm", Anglia 39 (1915-16), 319-346; G.H. Gerould, "Abbot Elfric's Rhythmic Prose", Modern Philology 22 (1924-25), 353-366; and critical reviews of the arguments presented in these articles by Frances Randall Lipp,

- "Elfric's Old English Prose Style", Studies in Philology 66 (1969), 689-718, and Sherman M. Kuhn, "Cursus in Old English: Rhetorical Ornament or Linguistic Phenomenon?", Speculum 47 (1972), 188-206. See also Lois K. Smedick, "Cursus in Middle English: A Talkyng of the Loue of God reconsidered", MS 37 (1975), 387-406.
2. "Cursus in Old Norse...", 15. As Lipp notes (699, n.26), the number of recognized cursus-types varies from scholar to scholar -- von Winterfeld (164-5) lists ten forms; Meyer (II. 267-269), eight; Polheim (73-83), eleven. As Nicolau observes, however, not only were the additional cursus-types rarely used deliberately, but, "il n'est pas sans danger d'allonger la liste des types de cursus, car, à ce compte, finalement on en découvrera partout et il n'y aura plus de prose arythmique" (2, n.2).
 3. I have modified the list printed in "Traces of Latin prose-rhythm...", 20, only by keeping the original orthography, numbering each item, and adding "scansion" marks and page and line references.
 4. This example does not scan as cursus dissondaicus and was perhaps meant to go under the heading velox: holæitlæga dyrlegt hæimboð.

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} & & ? & & x & x & \backslash & x & - & x \\ & & & & & & & & & \end{array}$$
 5. "Traces of Latin prose rhythm...", 21; cf. "Cursus in Old Norse...", 16.
 6. It is also worth noting that while Jakob normally appears to use the manuscript punctuation as his guide for determining where periods end (cf., e.g. example 1: Nhom. 109/5-6, "Pæl pōstōlē sēgir. hann drap ok døydi..."; example 17: 109/14-16, "...allt þat folc er guð hafðe hanum á hendi folget. vildi hann giarna...til guðs læiða"; example 23: 109/27-29, "...vildi hælör...oðlaz sva ēnnda-lausan

hins hælga Olafs konungs 111/30-31, 112/8, 18-19,
114/1-2, 124/21-22, 125/22,
126/33, 127/16, 128/28-29,
129/7-8, 21-22

hins hælga Oláf konung 113/20, 115/5, 119/14, 123/27,
125/12, 127/13

hins hælga Olafs kirkiu 123/11, 124/1, 127/32

8. "Cursus in Old Norse...", 17.
9. See Holtsmark, "Sankt Olavs Liv og Mirakler", Festskrift til Francis Bull (1938), 127ff.
10. With Jakob's first example, for instance, Pæl pōstōlē sēgir (planus), one can compare the use of the same rhythmical figure in Eysteinn's Passio (Metcalf 68/11), apōstōlus āit. (On the relative frequency of cursus-patterns in the vita and the miracles see Eiliv Skard, Sprache und Stil der Passio Olavi, NVAOS. II. Hist.-Filos. Klasse [1932], 67-68.)
11. Cf. Kuhn's use of statistics (op. cit., 199ff.) to demonstrate that the correspondences between cursus-types in the Old English translation of Bede's Ecclesiastical History and the Latin original pointed out by van Draat ("The Authorship of the Old English Bede...", 325-331) are random and "can be explained by the workings of pure chance".
12. The corresponding passage in Eysteinn's Passio is not close, verbally or rhythmically (cf. Metcalf, 70/5-10).
13. "Traces of Latin Prose Rhythm...", 21.
14. Cf. Kuhn, op. cit., 199: "The synonymous pairs in...[the OE translation of Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica] contain a large

proportion of inflected nouns and verbs with a single unstressed syllable after the stressed root: 'x or x'x . Placing an unstressed & between two of these automatically results in planus". As both van Draat ("Voluptas aurium", 401) and Kuhn (195) observe, cursus-forms often crop up in perfectly banal, non-rhetorical phrases: "Give me an apple" (planus), "social security" (tardus), etc.

It is impossible to know what criteria Jakob uses to distinguish between deliberate and accidental (or, perhaps, "natural") cursus-patterns in OWN texts. Quite misleading, however, is his suggestion that the long passage found in the Sthom. version of the homily "Assumptio Sanctae Mariae" (Sthom. 8/32 - 10/13) and not in the version of the same text in Nhom. can be proven to be an interpolation because "in the passage in question there is no trace of cursus at all" ("Traces of Latin Prose-Rhythm", 22-23). Again, he cites no examples, but phrases which resemble cursus at least as closely as do those in his sample list from the Olaf-legend can be found without difficulty in the extra passage in Sthom:

planus: heilāgrā manna (8/38), æþrōm meþ orþōm (9/22),
talþe fyr moNōm (9/26), hīrþarner sǣgþō (9/35),
lōc ā āt ēfnā (10/3), sem nū mōn ēk sēgiā (10/4),
hāldā þau sīþan (10/10), þeim es hōn georþe (10/13)

tardus: heilagleīc mario (8/32), et helgasta eyrende (9/34-35),
i heilagre namgirne (10/12)

velox: sporgango maþr vill gerasc (9/18), skilþe hōn betr
en aþrer (10/2)

dispondaicus: likamlēgom meīnōm (9/3), mēstā þōrf āt getā (9/9),
nāmgīarn āt guþs lōgom (9/20), øzta lán af guþe

(9/23), ha[̄]pe^x sé^x a^x brió[̄]ste^x (9/31), feóp[̄]de^x
 sé^x a^x brió[̄]ste^x (10/8-9), atfēr[̄]p^x hē^xNa^xr gó[̄]pa^x (10/9),
 æollom^x gó^xpo^xm hlutō[̄]m (10/13)

Figura etymologica/ adnominatio/polyptoton¹

Sthom. 3/20-23:

...hvatke er men mego af hug-
vite síno. mála til lofs henne.
þa er þat allt lágt oc litet.
at virþa hía lofe heilagra
engla eþa spamanna. er hana
lofa goplego love. at til-
vison heílags anda.

Ps. Jerome, PL 95, 1498B:

...quidquid humanis dici potest
verbis, minus est a laude cæli,
quia divinis est et angelicis
excellentius prædicata et laudata
præconiis, etc.

Sthom. 12/24-26:

...þat kláþe hafþe hann a valt fyrirþvi at sa eín var. þat
var hvártke heógt ne scrautlect. þaNeg svá varaþasc hann
synþer skravtz oc hógeNða.

Sthom. 12/32-33:

...svær þau er hann svaraþe

Sthom. 16/8-10:

...sva at fyr þeim vere uploket himinríki es þeir villde
vplúka. en fyr þeim byrgt es þeir vilia byrgia.

Sthom. 23/28-29:

Síþan telr petar tælo fyrer gyþingom oc útlendom...

Sthom. 24/1:

...er áþr vildo þeir raþa þeim bana róp

Sthom. 32/3:

...þeir er saurger vilia vera scyle saurs cost eíga...

Sthom. 49/22-23:

...þess scolom vér biþia miscunar almáttegs guþs at
eige missem ver eilifra fyrer heita eilífs konungs²

Sthom. 63/17-19:

Góþ er fasta. Góþ systken. ef hon er meþ stillingo frameþ.
þuiat þat er allt hiálpvénlect er stillt es. en hvatke es

vanstillingen fylger þa er háskasamlect.

Sthom. 80/7-8 (Nhom. 59/5-6): Ps. Aug. 136 [Faustus of Riez],
PL 39, 2015/18-20:

Af honom drupo skírnar dropar. De illo guttæ baptismatis fluebant;
en af oss flvto synþer i þeim sed nostra in guttis crimina deflue-
dropom. bant.

Sthom. 83/22-24: (Nhom. 68/15-17):

þrifseme guþs kallasc dominus iesus christus. þuiat af
honom hliota aller þrifnob þeir es þrí[f]asc mego beþe
þessa heims oc aNars.

Sthom. 102/18-21 (Nhom. 99/10-13):

...svasem vér feópom oss itarlegre feótzlo á hótípom.
sva skolom vér oc feópa aNder órar hotíplegre feótzlo
þat es orþ guþs. þuiat óseómt es at likamr feópesc oc
klápesc itarlega. en eN íþre maþr sé óprúþr oc misse
siNar feótslo.

Sthom. 112/2-4:

Eínrónlect es malet bróþr míner. oc es þó satt at hvóro.
oc es at saNara at nýnámlect sé. þuiat eN nýe maþr. oc
siálfet et saNa iesus cristr saNar þat i þessom orþom oc
æþrom mærgom.

Sthom. 112/31-36:

Sá á. es ástena a. en sá es hana á eige. sa es hveR
øreíge. þuiat hon es sá costr. ef ón es þaN cost mego
aðrer coster eige vera coster. oc hon eín es himinríkess
verþ. oc sa es hana fyller sa fyller æll lög guþs. oc
æll brýtr sa es hana brýtr.

Sthom. 113/8-10:

Nu es at saNo oc þa sa sapr eigande hveR es óstena á. þá
es boþen es. en saNlega sa hveR øreiege es hennar es andvane.
þót mart þykce aNat eíga.

Sthom. 113/14-16:

...oc scal afþui þat raNsaka hvat hon sé. epa hvern
veg hon sé halldaNde. En hon es sva halldande.at hana
scall hallda at sumom hlut vip guþ an sumom vip cristna
meN.

Sthom. 118/15-16:

...sva mikiN miscuNar dóm sem mikil es miscuNen til.

Sthom. 120/21-22:

Ramlega nýtr. es sva nýtr at æll heilog verc. oc maNkoster
ero hans coster oc hans verc...

Sthom. 120/24-25:

Sva at guþ dómer þaN dóm .at...³

Sthom. 124/27-30:

...at ver...drekcem at eilífo drykc eilífs unaps...

Sthom. 135/25-27:

...vill guþ drótteN. sáttasc at keNe manna siNa dóme.
es gópra manna dóm vill þiggia...

Sthom. 136/34-37:

J leyndom góþgerningom lýsom vér óst vip guþ. en í líósom
góþgerningom óst vip meN. þui scolom vér sumom góþgerningom
leýna. en suma fyr monnom lýsa. at vér eigom hvárar tveGíó
synþer at beóta leýndar oc líósar.

Sthom. 145/28:

...allrar skepno scapera...

Sthom. 147/4:

...meþ meNzkre ænd oc meNzkom likama

Sthom. 148/13-15:

...afþui almáttegr at hann ma allt þat gera es hann vill...⁴

Sthom. 148/39 - 149/2:

...Daupr vas hann likams daupa til at gefa oss aNDAR líf
es ápr várum dauper í synþom...

Sthom. 152/16-17:

Nu helgar hotíþ þessa fyrst at uphafi sa er alt helgar
þat er heilact verþr. dróttin vár iesus cristr.

Sthom. 152/22-23:

En þeir er guð elsca muno
elscaþer vera af guði.

Prov. 8:17:

Ego diligentes me diligo.

Sthom. 154/8-11:

...þa tók guð af honum van-
heílsona oc varþ hann maþr
heíll svasem þa er hann var
batst heíll. lét guð aukasc
þa oc helmingi eigo hans alla.
Sva at þa átti hann allt
hólfó fleíra an fyR þa er
flest var.

cf. Job 42:10, 12:

...et addidit Dominus omnia
quaecumque fuerant Iob, duplicia...
benedixit novissimis Iob magis
quam principio eius...

Sthom. 158/4-5:

...at hyGGiandin oc hvasleikrín scal hvessa einfaldleíkiN
til neNingariNar...

Sthom. 159/17-19:

...þat er siþom góþom oc stíórn at þeir stýrþo bápi sér oc
síno fólki til laga hallz. oc guðs boþorþa varþveítslo...

Sthom. 162/11-13:

Nu þat er huguitit fiþr þat má muna meþ minnino. en skilia
oc greina meþ skilningoNe huiglíct þat er es maþr sér eþa
heyrrer eþa siólfom kómr í hug...

Sthom. 171/6-7:

Eþa villþu eige at ec drekca
drykc þaN es faþer miN gaf mér. non bibam illam?

John 18:11:

Calicem, quem dedit mihi Pater,

Sthom. 173/11-12:

...oc scrýþdo hann conungs
skruþe...⁵

John 19:2:

...et veste purpurea circum-
dederunt eum.

Sthom. 200/11:

Faber vár es oss ant fæborlegre æst...

Sthom. 208/10-11:

...þat es raún es guþ reýnde en[n] fyrsta maN...

Sthom. 212/14-16

Romans 12:15:

Fagna scolom vér með þeim es
fagna góþom verkom sínom oc
aNara. oc lofe dróttens. en
gráta með þeim í samneyte es
synþer sínar gráta.

Gaudere cum gaudentibus,
flere cum flentibus.

Sthom. 212/37-38:

...capp miþil manna. þat es gratanda es allt miklom
gráte.

Sthom. 219/16:

...hann rép hiálp róp heimenom...

Nhom. 10/20-22:

Alc. VV, PL 101, 621C:

Mykil hælsu-læcning er ægi
at ændr-nyia þat er vér gærdum
ómildlega. ok at særa þau sár
er fyrr hofþu gróét.

Magnum est salutis medicamentum non
iterare quae prave gessimus, nec
priorum cicatrices vulnerum re-
sauciare.

Nhom. 19/31 - 20/2:

Alc. VV, PL 101, 628D:

Fyrir því ræðesc dømande guðs
doma at ægi fyrir-dømes
hann af guði. ef hann fyrir-
dømer sac-lausan en líuir
sæckium...

Quapropter judex deum judicem timeat,
ne forte deo judicante damnetur, si
innocentes damnat, vel impios justi-
ficat...

Nhom. 88/2-4:

Fasta langa-fæstu væl. ok imbrvdaga ok postola messa
apta[n]. ok allar þær fæstor aðrar er byscup byðr mænnon
at fasta. ok lifa lif sit ræinlega iafnan.

Nhom. 91/2-4:

...sa være sæl er til þes verkaðe at hann mætte þa
gæto fara er hann for sem aller monu fara er hans vilia
dryigia...

Nhom 93/34-35:

...sva var oc umm aðra postola ok guðs víni er lut
hofðu af lotet.

Nhom. 107/1:

...clæddr har-clæðum...

Nhom. 118/18-19:

...meðan sá hinn helgi maðr
lifði þessa hæims lifi.

cf. Metcalfe, 82/10:

...sancto adhuc in carne
uiuente...

Nhom. 126/16-19:

En vár droten er sva aum-
hiartaðr minir goðo vínir.
at hænnum þyccir því ællu
aumlegra umm þann aumingia
er hann sér hann sarlegra
svicvin en hvern cristin mann.

cf. Metcalfe 91/14-16:

Uerum dominus, omnium uolens
salutem, ouis moribunde tanto
amplius misertus est, quanto
grauius deceptam nouerat.

Nhom. 148/18-19:

...ok sá ec i draume mínum
myccla sion...

"Un Samedi Par Nuit", P 3-4:

Et ui en mon dormant
Une auision grant.

The homilists also resort, on occasion, to more elegant forms
of paronomasia. Cf., for instance:

Sthom. 41/15-19 (Nhom. 145/17-21):

Sva er oc sia hótíþ helgöþ
einsetomæNom þeim es...réþo sic
fra alþúþo skiale at þeir mætte
teómasc ofvalt til beona oc sia
viþ ollom tómvn orþom.

cf. Cross, "Legimus in

Ecclesiasticis Historiis",

Traditio 33 (1977), 119/182:

Sic et anchoritarum singulare
propositum huius diei solemnitate
non separatum esse confidimus...
uisus hominum fugientes, angel-
orum adsueti loquelis...

Sthom. 46/23-25:

...sva sende guð...almátkan svn siN i þeNa heim
at heímta af oss scatt boðorps oc rétlétes hans...

Sthom.123/11-15:

Sa sánger er fylger heíter palla sánger ... iarteiner
þat lof oc æmbátte er vér veitom gubi þessa heíms.
er ver scylldom sva heimtasc fram ígóþo lífe sem
vér stígem aNan pall upp af æþrom.

Sthom. 169/17-18:

...þa rac guð hann a bravt ór sálþar staþnom. oc
hingat i vesolþ verallðar þessar.⁶

Sthom. 190/27-30:

...svasem vín tecr mǫþe af manne oc gleþr hiarta hans
hans sva georer oc andleg skilning manne lét æll
erfeþe fyr guðs ást. oc gleþr hugeN himneskre huggon.
en létr hann gleýma iarþlegom hlutom sem víndruckeN
maN.

Nhom. 2/3-4:

...speki þessa hæims er
hæimsca fyrir guði.⁷

Alc. VV, PL 101, 614D (I Cor. 3:19)

...sapientia hujus mundi stultitia
est apud Deum.

Nhom. 149/27-28:

...þu vart illz fullr. ok
lausungar fullr. ok ofundar
fullr. Hordómr þín máte
alldrigin fyllasc.⁸

"Un Samedi Par Nuit", P 135-138

Plain fus de felomie,
De losenge et d'enuie.
Ainc la toie luxure
Ne pot auoir mesure.

A favourite piece of word-play in the homilies is the epigrammatic antithesis of things "great and small", "long and short", etc. Cf.:

Sthom. 4/22-25 (Nhom. 129/26-29):

En helga mér MaRia moþer drottens vars var ens betzta
kyns komen fra abraham oc ór kyne dauids konungs. Ener
nqnosto fræNdr hennar væro rétláter. oc hæfþo mikit
crafta lán af gope. en lítet aura lán af heime.⁹

Sthom. 11/37-39:

Hann varapesc sva afgeorþer at hann villde eige heldr
láta sik seokia smálvam en steóRæ gleope...

Sthom. 31/16-20:

Sa verþr ósmáquémr víp sín systkin at vera es mep litille
yverbót er víp siN fæþor. fyr stórar sakar. vill reíþe af
sér þiggia. Allar sakar ero smár oc fár þær er órer bróþr
gera víp oss. víp þat at virþa es ver gerom víp várn al-
mátkan fæþor.

Sthom. 69/2-3 (Nhom. 80/15-16):

Scamma stund leíþréttesc sa es lenge hafþe misgort.

Sthom. 77/13-15:

...þuiat su en helga þionasta af iafn miklom crafste
sem hon es. ma eige at sva lítlo legiasc...

Sthom. 87/31-33:

...J þeim orþom hneykesc dramb
vårt þars ver giolldom oft miclom
opocka smár sakar...

Gr. 18, in Ev., PL 76, 1151A:

...In quibus verbis quid aliud nisi
superbia nostra confunditur? quæ si
exagitata vel leviter fuerit, atroc-
iores injurias reddit, quam accep-
erat...

Sthom. 108/11-12:

...þat er allsmátt er víp oss er afgort. víp hitt at
virþa hue oft oc stórum vér misgerom víp guþ

Sthom. 121/24-25:

...en su en litla fózla óx svá víþ áttet. at þar urþo
fuller tólf vaNdhlaþar af hleífonom stórer.

Sthom. 155/29-31:

Veit þa engi nema guþ ein. hvé lanct epter es heimstopoNar.
an þat vito marger at scampt mun epter.

Nhom. 9/12-13:

Alc. VV, PL 101, 620C:

Ver þu litill fyrir æugum Esto igitur parvus in oculis tuis,
þinum. at þu séér mykil fyrir ut sis magnus in oculis dei.
augum guðs.¹⁰

Nhom. 34/16-18:

En þa mæler en var drotten við þær armar sálor.
Mykit þolda ec fyrir yör. en litla þocc kunnu þer mer.

Nhom. 88/12-13:

...ok bœter hann margar syndir ok storar. þo at hann
gefe litla almosu...

Nhom. 108/14-16:

NORðarla ligr land þat í haims-bygó þesse er Noregr
hæitir. Ðat var bygt til scamrar stundar mykilli [villu,
Indreb's addition] ok margsconar ó-sið.¹¹

Nhom. 109/30-31:

cf. Metcalfe, 70/1-2:

Mykin flocc ok goðan á litilli Plurimum profecit in breui, et
stundu dró hinn hælgi Olafr innumerabilem domino multitudinem
konungr til miscunnar við adquisiuit.
guð ok alla hælga menn.

Nhom. 156/20-22:

cf. Ælfric, CH I.226/25-28:

En ef vér vilium æigi her Gif we ðonne nellað forgyfan þa
hinar litlu misgiærningar lytlan gyltas ðæra manna þe us
fyrigefta er menn gera við gegremedon, þone nele eac God us
oss. þa vil guð æigi fyri- forgyfan ure synna mycele and
gefta oss misgiærningar mycclar manega.
ok margar er vér gerom fra hans
vilja.¹²

These passages can also be compared with examples of the formula,
multum in paucis verbis:

Sthom. 44/14-17:

Þættem vér oc at varasc víþ munoplífe allra helst þat
 es mest fylgia meín. oc umbfram es of eþlet. Wílda ec
 sva umb þat mála es flest mätte i felasc i skæmmo mále.

Sthom. 54/2-3:

Lvcas guþspíallamaþr skyrer fõm
orþom helga miNing þessar hotíþar.
en etke ér hon þa miNe i himnescom
 tþcnom en áþr.

Bede I.11, CCSL 122, 73/1-3:

Sanctam uenerandamque praesentis
 festi memoriam paucis quidem
uerbis euangelista comprehendit
sed non pauca.

Nhom. 53/19-20:

I þesso guðspíalle ero fá orð,
 en þæu fá hafa þó morg merki í sér.¹³

1. See Heinrich Lausberg, Elemente der Literarischen Rhetorik (6th ed., 1979), §§280-281; Leonid Arbusow, Colores Rhetorici (1963), 41ff. Examples of the same sort of word-play in the OWN translation of Vitae Patrum are discussed by Mattias Tveitane, Den lærde stil..., 86-88. See also Rudolf Meissner, Die Strengleikar (1902), 208ff.; G. Indrebø, "Aagrip", Edda 17 (1922), 21.
2. Cf. the commonplace formula lif eilíft: Sthom. 136/19, 192/19 (Regula Benedicti, cap. 4, CSEL 75 [1960], 32/46, uita aeterna), 212/14; Nhom. 159/5-6, til lifs hinns æi-lifa (cf. Ælfric CH I. 272/2-3, ...mid þam he ríxað on ecnyse), 159/13 (í lifi hinu æi-lifa (cf. Ibid., 272/8-9, On ðam ecan life...). Contrast the oxymoron, í dauþlego life, at Sthom. 144/17 (Acta S. Sebastiani, PL 17, 1119A, in ista mortali vita).
3. Cf., e.g., Nhom. 34/31: "Eige ma ret-visa mín ðøma yðr annan dóm en þer hafeð til gort"; Nhom. 90/21-23: "...ok sægðu þeim at hann myndi koma til doms at døma alla verold í því manz líki sem þa var hann".
4. With this etymological formula, cf., e.g., Ælfric, Dominica Prima Post Pasca, CH I. 236/8-9, "...Ac we cweðað þær-togeanes, þæt God is Ælmihtig, and mæg eal þæt he wile...". John C. Pope (Ælfric, Suppl., I. 109-110) discusses Ælfric's exploitation of the device of repetition in this passage and elsewhere in his Catholic Homilies. (Cf., for instance, his use of the collocation He gesceop gesceafta at CH I. 10/5 with Sthom. 145/27-28, Ec true a ... allrær skepno scapera.)
5. Cf., e.g. Sthom. 177/4 (Nhom. 44/2-3), scryddr...odaþlego scrúpe (Fulgentius, PL 65, 730A, stola...immortalitatis indutus); Nhom. 83/2,

Hvítu scrúði var han scrýdr (Gr. 21 in Ev., PL 76, 1171A, stola candida coopertus).

6. Bjarne Berulfsen (Kulturtradisjon fra en Storhetstid [1948], 265) cites an example of the same pun from a letter of Bishop Hákon Erlingsson to abbot Hallvard of Halsnakloster (DN VII, 166):
 "...þar sem han bæðizst orlof, er hælör ma olof kalla, fysandezst fra ræinlifwi ok sidgæde til vesaldar ok vsanlæiks veroldennar".
7. Cf. Maríu saga 743/21 (cit. Kirby, Biblical Quotation..., I. 360),
 "...uitzka þessa heims er heimska fyrir gudi...". Berulfsen (op. cit., 199-200) cites an example of the same formula from Barlaams ok Josaphats saga, 1/5-7: "...þvi kusu marger af hins hælga anda bending fullkomlega heiminum at hafna oc firirlata hegomlega heimsku heimsins". (Ps. Ioh. Dam. offers no close parallel.)
8. This piece of word-play is found only in the Nhom. version of the translation of "Un Samedi Par Nuit". Cf. O. Widding and H. Bekker-Nielsen, MS 21 (1959), 282: AM 764 4to, "þu uart illzku fullr...j agirni ok lausung ok lygi ok allrar aufunndar. hordomr þinn ok likams fyst fyllidiz alldri"; JS 405 8vo, "þu varst fullr af Ilsku... i ágyrne, oc Iafngyrne oc lausúng oc Illrar öfundar, Hórdómur þinn oc likams fyst fylvist aldreige".
9. Gabriel Turville-Petre ("The Old Norse Homily on the Assumption and Maríu saga", Nine Norse Studies [1972], 107-108) notes that this sentence also appears in the parallel text in Maríu saga (2/12-13), but is not paralleled in the Latin source for this passage, the Gospel of the Birth of Mary.
10. Cf. Matt. 18:4 and, e.g., the translation at Sthom. 146/19-20 (Nhom. 42/31-32):

Sa es sic lǣger sem litell Quicumque ergo humiliaverit se
sveíN. sa mon mikill verða sicut parvulus iste, hic est
i himinríke. maior in regno caelorum.
(Cf. Sthom. 184/28; Nhom. 52/32, cit. Kirby, Biblical Quotation...,
I.176.)

11. No similar antithesis is found in Eysteinn Erlendsson's Passio Olauí (cf. Metcalfe, 67/5ff.).
12. The "great and small" antithesis is a commonplace proverbial formula (cf., e.g., Whiting R 89, "Great reproof follows little excess"; T 137, "A little thing may gar great harms arise"; W 603, "Of small words waxes great conteck"). For some examples of similar phrases in other OWN texts see, e.g., Hungrvaka, Bisk. I. 60, "...margr hefir þess raun, ef hann leitar sér skammrar skemtanar, at þar kemr eptir á laung ahyggja"; Ágrip, ed. Finnur Jónsson, ASB 18 (1929), 6/6-7, "...lítil kona sýnum, en mikil ráðum..."; Hrafnkels s. Freysgoða, k. 3, ÍF 11 (1950), "Þorbjörn átti fé lítit, en omegð mikla"; Martinus s. byskups II, HMS I. 597/20-21, "ok at enu fysta nervarpe dro diaknum mikinn lax i litlu neti..." (Sulpicius Severus, Diælogus II [III], 10, 4, CSEL 1 (1866), 207, "...ad primum iactum in rete permodico immanem esocem diaconus extraxit..."; neither of the other versions of Martinus s. preserves the word-play: cf. I, HMS I, 572/16-17; III, HMS I, 630/11-12).
13. Cf. Ælfric's rendering of the same text (CH I. 90/8-10):

SE Godspellere Lucas beleac þis dægþerlice godspel mid
feawum wordum, ac hit is mid menigfealdre mihte þære
heofenlican gerynu afylled.

(See also, e.g., his translation of the introductory sentence of Gr. 19 in Ev., PL 76, 1154B at CH II. 72/21-23.) The same figure is found in a translation of Gr. 34 in Ev. in AM 677 4to:

Leif. 67/20-21:

Dømisogo scamma mon ec segia.
en su saga ma ýþr langa hiolp
veita ef er virþit rettliga...

PL 76, 1257C:

Rem, fratres, breviter refero...
Hanc itaque si solerter auditis,
charitati vestrae non breviter
suffragari credo.

Cf. perhaps the remarks on Christ's condemnation of orationes
longae at Sthom. 29/7-10:

...keNde beón meþ fóm orþom. at þa mætte heldr allr hugr
fylgia. heNe. oc vøre hon auþnẽmre. mætte þó at hvóro sem
propheteN sagþe. meþ scammo mále fylla alla þurft óra til
fulz retléttes. þess er himinríki ma meþ caupa.

(Kirby, II.239, notes that "Eccles. 5:2 was probably the quotation
in the writer's mind".)

For OWN examples of the related brevitas- formula, pauca ex
multis (E.R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages,
160, 487ff.; Arbusow, Colores Rhetorici, 119) see, e.g., Jóns saga
postola I, Post. 420/37-39; Mariu saga, 236/15-17; Vitae Patrum,
HMS II, 469/14ff.; Kristni saga, ed. B. Kahle, ASB 11 (1905), 76/
14ff.

Litotes

Sthom. 12/6-14:

Hann keNde sva mikla orlynde. at maþr skylde gefa
aNaN kyrtel siN þeim er enge átte. ... þat sýna eoss
deome eNs sæla marteins biscops. þars hann gaf tysvar
sva klæpe af sér at hann var valla qbeR epter.

Sthom. 18/11-12:

En þat scal eige umb líða óskilet. es sagt es fra
þessom .xij. hliþom...

Sthom. 22/31 - 23/1:

Fra píslar típ iesu voro þeir sva eorhiarta orþner
viþ illzco gyþingar. at traulla þótte þeim haska laust
sér at ganga í augsýn þeim...

Sthom. 24/1-2:

...þat var síþan æN ó litil at skíra þa meN es til
tru qvomo

Sthom. 62/28-29:

...þuiat þeir vito at eige keomr
til enskess at vāka of neþr til
bōna...

cf. H.L. Spencer, MS 44 (1982),
287/56-57:

...Sciunt autem quod non est vanum
mane surgere ante lucem ad vigilandum.

Sthom. 93/2:

...eige lýgr sa es þetta mælti.
Mustari guþs es heilact...

Caes. 227, CCSL 104, 897 (852/8-9):

...non enim mentitus est ille qui
dixit: TEMPLUM ENIM DEI SANCTUM EST...

cf. Sthom. 193/3-4:

...eige es lygi þat es sagt es.
þuiat ér erop heilact mustere guþs...

Sthom. 97/29-31:

...es flestom oc ósárara þó nœcqví eN bápi fránda daþi
eþa sva fiárscapi heldr en hitt ef siál[f]r hefer all
mikla qvæl a sér.

Sthom. 115/8-10:

...Epa hver se sva ófroðr nu þat at eige vite þat þo
at su giof es hver ópæg gupe es aftrmund es a lög. þót
fyrst se með allgópom vilea uNet...

Sthom. 153/24-25:

...þat er eige cynlict qvað satán
at iob sé vel við þic. þar er
hann hefer allt goT af þer.

cf. Job 1:9-10:

Cui respondens Satan ait: Numquid
Iob frustra timet Deum? Nonne tu
vallasti eum...et possessio eius
crevit in terra?

Nhom. 86/1-3:

...þvi at vér scyldum með sva myclu cost-gæfe
læita at scilia ok fylla oll boðorð guðs at ecci
se eptir u-scilat eða ugrøt þa er drotten kómur á
döms-dægi.

Nhom. 116/7-8:

...at sá ungi maðr fec æigi
þolat í sœfnenom u-øpande.

Metcalf, 80/4-6:

...ut uiolenciam conaminis adolescens
ferre non ualens in somnis clamare
cogeretur.

Nhom. 117/4:

...æigi...al-forseala við
u-orðane vándra manna

Metcalf, 81/1-2:

...ad prauorum detrectationes
minime circumspecta

Nhom. 117/8-9:

Þa bar æigi bætr at en umm
kono þa flout ok fór ferlect
u-orðan.

Metcalf, 81/4-5:

Accidit autem ut de muliere illa
suspicio sinistra oriretur.

Nhom. 117/12-13:

...vár þeim í þvi mykil
ó-fagnaðr sem æigi var kynlect.
ok þögðu þó yfir...

Metcalf, 81/8-9:

...supra modum indignati sunt, et
furore nimio succensi dolorem suum
dissimulando suppresserunt.

Chapter two:
Native proverbs in the Homily
Books -- at mæla fagrt ok
hyggja flátt.

Perhaps the chief task of the vernacular preacher was to "naturalize" his source material, to make it comprehensible and palatable to his audience without distorting its original significance. This often necessitated the substitution of native equivalents for unfamiliar names or concepts. Thus, for instance, in an Epiphany homily in Sthom. based on Bede I. 14, the architriclinius of the wedding feast at Cana (John 2:9) becomes an ondvegismapr.¹ Similarly, in the translation of the Epistula Luciani de translatione Sancti Stephani included in the same collection, the protomartyr's sarcophagus is called a steinpró (Sthom. 201/16, 28, etc. = theca, PL 41, 809C-D and passim); moreover, we are told that it is inscribed with "runes" (Sthom. 204/9, ...þar fundu þeir rúnar clappapar a steine... = PL 41, 815A, §8, Invenimus igitur altissimis litteris scriptum lapidem obrutum) and is found buried in a forn haugr (Sthom. 203/38-39 = PL 41, 813D §7, monumentum quasi neglectum et ruinosam).² Still more remarkable is the information provided by the author of a homily for the Feast of John the Baptist in Nhom., that Salome entertained Herod and his court í song ok í fiólu-slätte.³ The resources of native idiom are also tapped in the use of martial vocabulary: Saint 'Oláfr, donning the arms of the Christian knight before his martyrdom at Stiklastaðir, is said to prepare himself "til holm-göngu sem ræustr riðare"⁴; Christ is surrounded by lægoneyteN engla siNa⁵, and öll himinríkis hirb⁶; and God the Lord of Hosts sends forth his ghostly armies at glata víkingonom.⁷

At times a "humble style" is achieved simply through the adoption of a colloquial tone, especially in interjections and apostrophes. In a sermon in Nhom. on the significance of church bells, for instance, the homilist interrupts his allegorical interpretation of the belfry to give voice to his fears that there are those among his congregation who pay the sound of a church bell no more mind than they would the cawing of a

crow or the bark of a dog (Nhom. 71/17-19):

...En mik grvna þat at þeir menn ero sumir er ænskis
þyccir umm vart þo at kloccor hægri hælðr en craca scræcte
eða hundr gauli.

Similarly, in a sermon on Judgement Day preserved on the interpolated leaves in Nhom.⁸, the preacher mimics, in a piece of mock-dialogue, those who sneer at clerical admonitions concerning the punishment of sin in the life to come (Nhom. 170/8-10):

...þeir mæla sva. Lærdör menn ræða oss við hælvti. segja
þeir sem kona ræðir barn sit. Þegi þu barn. segir hon. ec
læt ref-enn at þer. ef þu þegir þigi.

The author of this sermon may well have been thinking here of Grýla, the child-snatching troll-wife of Icelandic folktales. As 'Olafur Briem points out ("Grýla I", KLNM V, 491-2), in the nafnapulur appended to Skaldskaparmál, the name Grýla appears in both the catalogue of tröllkvænnaheiti and the list of refaheiti⁹, probably, he suggests, "fordi både trolde og ræve brugtes til at skræmme børn med". At any rate, it is probably safe to assume that a reference to this bogey would not have been obscure to the preacher's audience; on the contrary, he clearly hoped that this amusingly pedestrian piece of mock-dialogue would appeal directly to the background of the people he addressed, and engage their attention in a way a scriptural citation or a reference to a learned authority could not.¹⁰

A similar effect -- a general reduction of the distance between the preacher's lofty subject matter and the everyday frame of reference of his audience -- was achieved through the use of native proverbs and stock expressions. Sir Thomas Browne observes in his Pseudodoxia Epidemica that to the common people "being unable to wield the intellectual arms of reason,...proverbs [are] more powerful than demonstrations".¹¹ Similarly, a German legal document of the fourteenth century recommends, "Whenever you can attach a proverb, do so, for the peasants like to

judge according to proverbs".¹² The frequent citation of proverbs and maxims in medieval texts does not merely, however, reflect a willingness to pander to plebeian tastes; rather, as Grace Frank has observed, the medieval author's love of pithy sayings springs from a deep-seated interest in general truths:

Huizinga and others have shown how heavily the medieval man leaned upon tradition and traditional learning, how exaggerated was his respect for general concepts expressed as maxims, and how frequently arguments of all kinds -- political, social, and moral, as well as religious -- were settled by citation of texts.

...We tend today to associate the use of homely aphorisms with intellectual poverty of expression, with writers of limited vocabulary and little imagination...However, it is clear that this was not the attitude of medieval or even Renaissance authors. From the twelfth century on authors of books on rhetoric recommend the use of proverbs as a stylistic device of merit...¹³

The poetical manuals of Geoffrey of Vinsauf and Matthew of Vendôme contain sections on the use of proverbs, as do the artes praedicandi of Robert of Basevorn and John of Wales.¹⁴ Indeed, not only vernacular sermons of the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but Latin sermons too, are rich in current popular sayings; and scholars such as Barthélemy Hauréau and G.R. Owst have demonstrated that preachers in France and England during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries "were wont to make use of collections of both Latin and vernacular proverbs especially compiled for the purpose".¹⁵ There is no need to assume that the OWN homilists made use of similar written collections of maxims; but it is clear that they, like preachers of a later period, often spiced their compositions with native proverbs not only to make their listeners feel at ease, but also to fortify moral arguments.¹⁶

Thus, for instance, the author of a Christmas sermon in Sthom. based, in part, on Gregory's homily on the parable of the wedding feast, bolsters with a popular saying his criticism of those who foolishly

ignore their invitation to God's heimboð (Sthom. 164/36-38):

Verþr sva sem orþzqvír eN mæler. at sér stríþer vesall
maþr at mat hafne. þeir stríþa sér oc siólfom er eige
vilía þiGía heímbop at conunginom.¹⁷

Similarly, in the sermon for the Feast of John the Baptist in the same collection, the homilist concludes his account of Salome's entertainment and John's decollation with a well-known misogynist maxim (Sthom. 13/32-34):

"...kom þat þar fram sem miok oft þyker verþa. att kollð ero qveNa róp."¹⁸

The author of a sermon for Lent in Sthom. invokes a legal maxim in support of his exhortation of his listeners to suffer gladly and with humility the salutary tribulations visited upon them from heaven. For, he says, whoever is chastised by God and takes his punishments so ill that he would gladly rid himself of them if he could behaves like the man who both "rows in a levy and pays the fine for not doing so" (114/35-36): "...þa es honom þess manz dðme es rðr leiþena eNða gelldr þó leiþvítet...". This adage refers to the penalty in law for absenting oneself from a levy, or for joining the wrong ship in an expedition.¹⁹

It is remarkable that the humorous banality of certain proverbs does not diminish their effectiveness in a sacred context. In a Pentecost sermon in Sthom., the preacher describes in the homeliest of terms the sudden zeal of the apostles to begin their evangelical mission after they have received the gift of the Holy Spirit (Sthom. 24/13-17):

...Enge maþr mon sva matvíss vera at hann mege iafnfúss til síns dðgorþar of vera. sem þeir vðro fúser fra at ganga. oc leiþa lýþeN guþe til handa fra díofols vilía. Oc kom þat fram sem mælt er at létt ero lostverc...²⁰

Indeed, the captatio benevolentiae which introduces the Nhom. Doomsday sermon already mentioned seems all the more urbane for its inclusion of a native saw (Nhom. 168/14-17):

...Þat er atqvæðe norrønna manna at ærvætt er litlum fugli með lamdum vengium at hefia hótt sína flaug. Sva er ok ervaett miðlungar snotrum með usniallre tungu at mæla um almatkan guð

eða hina hǫsto luti.²¹

The homilists were clearly discriminating in their choice of proverbs, and took care to find the appropriate phrase for a particular context. In a lively retelling of the story of Job included in the first homily for the Dedication of a Church in Sthom., for instance, the Icelandic homilist replaces a proverb in the scriptural narrative with an apt vernacular equivalent:

Sthom. 97/23-33:

...En dominus svarar. Nu muNtu fuNdet hafa iób síþan vin miN. oc muNtu nu vita gløgggra. en áþr hverR dýrþar maþr hann er. sattu nøcqvern betr verþa við freístnina sva acaflega mikcla en hann. eþa þoli[n]móþligar bera. svasem ec vissa áþr at vera myNde. En satán svarapi. Eige þycke mér mioc til reyNt. hué þolinmóþliga hann myni bera. meþan hann es heillsiálfr. sa þykcer elldr en heítastr es a siólfom liggr. es flestom oc ósárara þó nøcqvi en bæþi fránda dáþi eþa sva fiárscapi. heldr en hitt ef siál[f]r hefer all mikcla qvøl a sér. þykci mér sva fremi vita oc reyna oc meþ fullo. hue þolinmóþr iób verþi við. ef þu látr hann keNa qvala nacqvæt a [recte oc] sárleíca á sínom licama...

Job 2:3-5:

Et dixit Dominus ad Satan: Numquid considerasti servum meum Iob, quod non sit ei similis in terra, vir simplex et rectus, ac timens Deum, et recedens a malo, et adhuc retinens innocentiam? Tu autem commovisti me adversus eum, ut affligerem eum frustra. Cui respondens Satan ait: Pellem pro pelle, et cuncta quae habet homo dabit pro anima sua; alioquin mitte manum tuam, et tange os eius et carnem; et tunc videbis quod in faciem benedicat tibi.

This maxim is also found in chapter 59 of Grettis saga²²; and in his recent study, Úr Hugmyndaheimi Hrafnkels Sögu og Grettlu, Hermann Pálsson points out that the phrase has a close Latin analogue in a line from the twelfth-century comedy, Pamphilus.²³ The Latin text can be compared with an Old Norwegian translation (probably from the mid-thirteenth century):

Pamphilus, ed. Gustave Cohen,
La "Comédie" Latine en France
au XIIe Siècle (1931), II, 195/
35-38 (cf. Walther 15865):

Est michi uicina, uellem non
 esse, puella,
Si non subueniat gracia uestra
 michi,
Nam solet amoto plus ledere
 proximus ignis:
Me, si mota foret, lederet ipsa
 minus.

Ludwig Holm- Olsen, ed., Den Gammel-
norske Oversættelsen av Pamphilus,
NVAOS II. Hist.-fil. Kl., 1940, nr.2,
97/32-37:

Ein er su i grend við mik, er ec villða
æigi at mår væri. oc ef æigi stoðar
mér miskunn yður. þa tyni ec henni
þungliga. þui at ælldr þyngir mærr
þáim er a liggr. en hinom er fiarri er.
mik myndi oc minnr saka ef hon fiarri
væri.

It is not unlikely, however, that the Icelandic homilist was influenced in his choice of this proverb by a reminiscence of Job 23:10: "Et probavit me quasi aurum quod per ignem transit". One might compare, for instance, his remarks at Sthom. 96/23-27:

...Nu mego þui góper meN aller vel af berasc. þót gup láti
þá í næcqveRi freístni verþa eþa maNrán. at þeir scolo þat
til hafa til synþa læsnar oc verþleíka víþ gup. at þeir þoli
vel hreínsonar elld þaN es gup leGr a heNdr þeim her oc breNer
afþeim synþa sötter.²⁴

In his article, "Enthält das Stockholmer Homilienbuch durchweg Übersetzungen?", Karel Vrátný includes in a list of passages from Sthom. illustrating the skill of the homilists at exploiting native idiom two examples of the alliterative proverbial phrase, "at mæla fagrt ok hyggja flátt" -- the first from a translation of Chapter Four of the Benedictine Rule, the Instrumenta bonorum operum (Sthom. 142/17-18, "mæla eige þar fagrt er maþr hyGr flátt"), the second from an Easter homily which is also preserved in Nhom. (Sthom. 69/34-35; cf. Nhom.81/3, "mælom eige þa fagrt er ver hyGiom flátt").²⁵ In addition to these examples, two non-alliterative versions of the formula are found in the Homily Books. The collocation "láta blíplega oc hyGia flátt" occurs at Sthom. 56/10-12 in a sermon for the Feast of the Circum-

cision; and the "Soul and Body" dialogue preserved in Nhom. under the title "Visio sancti Pauli apostoli" contains the phrase, "meðan þu mæltir slét við mann. þa hugóir þu honum flærð" (Nhom. 149/29-30).²⁶ The frequent occurrence of this traditional proverb-formula in the homilies is in itself interesting; and it is perhaps worth examining the background of the phrase more closely, in order to understand what prompted its use in each of these texts, and to see how it was adapted by the homilists to a new context of ideas.

The mæla fagrt/ hyggja flátt antithesis is very widely attested in Old Icelandic poetry and prose. Vrátný suggests that its use in Sthom. "an die Hóvamól (Bugge 91) erinnert".²⁷ In fact, versions of the formula are found in both stanzas 45 and 91 of Hávamál:

Ef þú átt annan þann's þú illa trúir,
vill þú af honum gott geta,
fagrt skal mæla en flátt hyggja,
ok gjalda lausung við lygi.

...

Bert ec nú mæli, þviat ec bæði veit:
brigðr er karla hugr konom;
þá vér fegrst mælom, er vér flást hyggiom,
þat tælir horsca hugi.²⁸

In his studies of the learned background of parts of Hávamál, Klaus von See has pointed out that stanza 45 of the poem is composed almost exclusively of borrowed elements²⁹; and he suggests that the "fair words/false intent" formula in this stanza is taken either from the later strophe of Hávamál, or from stanza 91 of Hugsvinnsmál, the Old Icelandic poetical paraphrase of Disticha Catonis:

st. 91 (ed. Tuvestrand, 122, A90): cf. Disticha III.4(cit. Tuvestrand, 122):

Blidum ordvm	Sermones blandos blaesosque
þo þik bragnar lofi,	cavere memento:
þarftv eigi þeim at trua	simplicitas veri fama est,
opt sa fagurt mæler,	fraus ficta loquendi.
sem hefer flatt j hvga.	
gott er at sia vit suikvm.	

Hávamál 45 can also be compared with the rendering of Disticha

Catonis I. 26-27 in stanza 41 of Hugsvinnsmál:

ed. Tuvestrand, 94, A 42: Disticha I. 26-27 (cit. Tuvestrand, 94):

flarads mans ordvm,	Qui simulat verbis nec corde est fidus amicus,
þott hann fagurt mæli,	tu qui fac simile: sic ars deluditur arte.
þarftv eigi þeim at trua.	Noli homines blando nimium sermone probare:
Glyslig ord	fistula dulce canit, volucrem cum decipit
lattv j gegnn koma;	auceps.
gialltu suo liku ligt.	

In the Poetic Edda the formula occurs again in the exultant "warning" of Vingi in st. 39 of Atlamál in grænlenzco: "fagrt bað ec ycr qvámó, flátt var þó undir"; and the phrase is also recalled in stanzas 19 and 21 of Sólarljóð (Skjð A I, 630-631):

Ovinum þynum
trū þu alldri
þo fagrt mæli firi þier
godu þu heit
gott er annars
vijti hafa ad varnadi.

So honum gafst
Sorla hinum godrada
þa er hann lagdi avalld hans vijgulfs
tregliga hann trudi
en hinn ad talum vard
synum brodr bana.

Grid hann þeim selldi
af godum hug
en þeir hietu honum gulli i gien
sattir lietust
medan saman drucku
þo komu flærdir fram.³⁰

In prose works, versions of the proverb-formula are used to describe a rogues' gallery of eloquent dissemblers: Þrándr í Gøtu in Færeyinga

saga (Flat. I, 125/14-17, "þrandr var...blíðmælltr við hina meire menn en hugde jafnan flatt."); Þórðr Kolbeinsson in Bjarnar saga Hítðelakappa (ÍF 3[1938], 138/4-8, "Þórðr fór þar um föggrum orðum. Þórdís mælti: 'Þat mun sýna, at ek mun ekki mjök talhlýðin. Hugðu svá at, Björn', segir hon, 'at því flára mun Þórðr hyggja, sem hann talar sléttara...'"); Ívarrbeinlauss in Ragnars saga Loðbrókar (STUAGNL 36 [1906-08], 164/16-19, "...Þa svarar Ella konungr, 'Þat kalla sumir menn, at eigi se hekt at trua þér, ok þu mælr þa opt fagurt, er þu hygr flatt...'"); the "great folk of England" in Thómas saga erkibyskups II (Thóm. II, I. 58/10-13, "...Enn svá glöggr sem Thómas signaðr var í öllu sínu viti, fèkk hann löngu skilt, hversu stórmenni í Englandi hugói honum flátt, þótt fagrt lèti."). The phrase occurs three times in Alexanders saga, the translation of the Alexandreis of Walter of Châtillon attributed to Brandr Jónsson:³¹

ed. Finnur Jónsson (1925),
98/19-29:

cf. Galteri de Castellione Alexandreis,
ed. M.L. Colker (Patavii, 1978), VI, 468-482:

Nv liðr af en nesta nött. oc
þegar vm morgonenn eptir. byðr
Darius at vpp scyle taka her-
buðernar. Oc iamskiott koma
þeir Bessus oc Narbazones með
miclo liðe til fvndar við
hann oc fall til fota honom.
biðia af ser reiðe miuclega.
en kallaz heðan ífra sem her
til vilia þiona honom trvlega.
oc gera þat allt er hann vill
firir þa leggja. þat sonnvðu
þeir sem oppt verðr mellt. at
margr melir þa fagrt er hann
hyGr flátt. en sva fengu þeir
vmtalet oc aumkat sec at hann
trvðe þat allt fals laust er þeir
mellto, oc gaf vpp bliðlega þat
er þeir baðo.

Crastinus amissum noctis caligine mundum
Reddiderat Tytan, et signum castra mouendi
Iam dederat Darius, aderant cum milite multo
Participes sceleris, caute pretendere docti
Officium sollempne foris speciemque sequendi
Principis imperium. sed in alta mente latebat
Occultum facinus scelerisque proteruiatanti.
Sceptrum preradians et adhuc insignia regni
Gestabat Darius curruque micabat ab alto.
Prona iacebat humi supplex ueniamque precata
Sediciosa cohors, et sustinuit uenerari
Tunc patricida ducem, quem post in uincula
seruus
Detrusurus erat, lacrimisque coegit abortis
Credere Belidem uultumque rigare senilem
Fletibus irriguis.

Ibid., 128/23-33:

...Oc ef þu letr oss ífriðe
sitia. þa monom ver vera vinir
þínir. oc kollom ver at sv
vinátta kvnne tryggast at
verða er þeir binda sin amil-
lom er aðr hafe hvarigr yvir
aðra komet. En þu þarft eigi
þat at etla at þeir verðe þér
tryggvir. er þu þrengvir undir
þec með ofrafle þviat fyRi mon
ioró vera stirnd sem himinn en
sv vingan verðe með fullom
trunaðe er fest verðr með
nauðungu. þviat sa er hann
þionar nauðigr hyggir iafnan
flátt þott hann late stundom
fagrt. Sva lycr þessi maðr sino erende
er sendr hafðe veret af Scithis.

Ibid., 148/5-14:

Varla hafðe annscotenn til
lycða leitt sitt erende þa er
Proditio stendr vpp oc ann-
svarar. þat er vélen. Harðla
litið starf segir hon at gera
þat er þu byðr. Ec áþat eitr
er sva sterct er. at enge lutr
fer halldet þvi nema hrosshofs.
þat skal gefa Alexandro ívini
at drecka. Oc til þess gefr
nu vel oc hogliga þviat minn
fostrson er Antipater heitir
einn hofðengi íher Alexandri
sa er þat scaplyndi hefir er
mer licar. kann lata fagrt þat
hann hygge flátt ætlar áfund hans...

Ibid., VIII, 464-476:

"habebis amicos,
Bella quibus non intuleris. firmissimus inter
Equales interque pares est nodus amoris.
Equales sunt siue pares qui nec sibi cedunt
Nec sese excedunt: hii sunt qui nulla cruenti
Viribus inter se fecere pericula Martis.
Esse tibi caue ne credas quos uincis amicos.
Ante feret stellas tellus Septemque Triones
Abluet Oceanus et siccum piscis amabit
Quam serui ad dominum sit ueri nexus amoris.
Inter eos nulla est concordia. nam licet extr
Pax pretendatur, odio confligitur intus.
Pacem uultus habet, agitant precordia bellum.
Sic ait,...

Ibid., X, 143-153:

Vix ea ructarat cum blando subdola uultu
Proditio surgens 'labor iste breuissimus',
inquit
'Est michi mortiferum super omnia toxica uiru
Quod nec testa capit nec fusilis olla metalli
Nec uitri species nec uas aliud nisi solum
Vngula cornipedis. dabitur liquor iste Falern
Mixtus Alexandro. presto est occasio dandi.
Nam meus Antipater, Macedum prefectus, ab ips
Cunarum lacrimis pretendere doctus amorem
Voce sed occultis odium celare medullis,
Ad regem ire parat,...

Foreign analogues for the phrase are not difficult to find. The same sentiment is expressed, for instance, in a passage from Plautus' Truculentus which circulated as a sententia in antiquity and throughout the middle ages:

in melle sunt linguae sitae uostrae atque orationes,
facta atque corda in felle sunt sita atque acerbo aceto:
eo dicta lingua dulcia dati', corde amara facitis.³²

(Cf. Walther 13835, "Lingue sunt site in mella, corda in felle"; 14574, "Mel in ore, fel in corde"; 14577, "Mel in ore, verba lactis/ Fel in corde fraus in factis", etc.³³)

It is especially interesting, however, to compare the OWN phrase with the English proverbial formula, "To speak fair before and false behind", many variants of which are recorded by B.J. and H.W. Whiting in their collection, Proverbs, Sentences and Proverbial Phrases from English writings mainly before 1500.³⁴ The earliest example of the phrase cited by the Whitings occurs in the Old English poem "Homiletic Fragment I" preserved in the Vercelli Book.³⁵ As G.P. Krapp points out, in the introduction to his edition of the poem, "the fragment is a loose amplification of Psalm XXVIII [27 in the Biblia Vulgata], and the beginning of the fragment corresponds to the third verse of the Psalm".³⁶ It is this verse which prompts the use of the "fair words/ false intent" antithesis; but the translator rings changes on the phrase throughout his poem:

Psalm 27:3:

Ne simul trahas me cum peccatoribus
et cum operantibus iniquitatem ne perdas me;
qui loquuntur pacem cum proximo suo,
mala autem in cordibus eorum.

Homiletic Fragment I:

sorh cymeð (1b-6)
manig ond mislic in manna ðream.
Eorl oðerne mid æfþancum

section of an independent sermon for the same feast day, preserved in full in Nhom. (53/12 - 55/10, "In circumcissione domini nostri Iesu cristi sermo").³⁹ The section of this sermon which corresponds to the passage from Bede cited above, however, contains no phrase similar to the "fair words/ false intent" antithesis.⁴⁰

The mæla fagrt formula is also used to render a Latin phrase reminiscent of Psalm 27:3 in the translation of the Instrumenta bonorum operum included in a sermon on the Annunciation at Sthom. 142/4-38. Part of this sermon is also preserved in AM 686 4to (cf. Leifar 175-177); and an independent translation of the Instrumenta is found later in Sthom., at 191/32 - 192/37.⁴¹ In addition to forming Chapter One of the Benedictine Rule, this list of precepts circulated as a separate homiletic treatise as early as the eighth century, under the title Instrumentum magnum bonorum operum.⁴² The Icelandic versions can be compared with both Ludwig Traube's transcription of this text from Ms. Vat. lat. 3836 (f. 198v)⁴³ and Rudolf Hanslik's edition of the Regula Benedicti:

<u>Instrumentum magnum</u> , ed. Traube, 89/9-10:	<u>Regula Benedicti</u> , IV, ed. Hanslik, C.S.E.L. 75 (2nd ed., 1977), p.33:
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...dolum in corde non retineas.	24 dolum in corde non tenere.
<u>pacem falsam non dare</u> . caritatem non derelinquere. non	25 <u>Pacem falsam non dare</u> ,
iurare ne te periuris veritatem	26 caritatem non derelinquere.
et ex corde et ore proferre...	27 Non iurare, ne forte periuret.
	28 Ueritatem ex corde et ore proferre. ⁴⁴

Sthom. 142/17-19 (cf. Leifar 176/34 - 177/1):

...veri eige veliN ne ótrúr i scapi. mæla eige þar fagrt er maþr hyGr flátt. sveria eige rangsþri. heldr scal it saNa segia á vallt ef maþr veít...

Sthom. 192/6-8:

Hafðu eige vél i hug þér.
Gefðu eige svicsamlegan frið.
Fyr lát eige elscona þóT við þic se misgeorT.
Scallt þu alldrege viðNa eíþ at eige meíneíþer þu.

In a footnote, Hanslik invites the reader to compare Instrumenta, item 25, "Pacem falsam non dare", with Jeremiah 9:8, "in ore suo pacem cum amico suo loquitur et occulte ponit ei insidias", and Psalm 27:3. The author of a modern commentary on the Regula Benedicti, Paul Delatte, suggests that this line be compared with the same Psalm verse.⁴⁵

It is, of course, impossible to prove that an association made by a modern editor might also have been made by a twelfth-century translator. But the capacity and agility of the "medieval memory" is itself almost proverbial;⁴⁶ and Jean Leclercq, for instance, has suggested that the "ruminative" reading habits of monastic authors in particular endowed them with "biblical imaginations":

...The memory, fashioned wholly by the Bible and nurtured entirely by biblical words and the images they evoke, causes [monastic writers] to express themselves spontaneously in a biblical vocabulary.⁴⁷

He explains how this affected their methods of literary composition:

It is this deep impregnation with the words of Scripture that explains the extremely important phenomenon of reminiscence... Verbal echoes so excite the memory that a mere allusion will spontaneously evoke whole quotations and, in turn, a scriptural phrase will suggest quite naturally allusions elsewhere in the sacred books. Each word is like a hook, so to speak; it catches hold of one or several others which become linked together in their minds and under their pens, like variations on the same theme. It happens that the same context is found several times in the same author and in others. Not that the one is necessarily referring to what he has already said or is citing another author who is using the same series of texts. Quite simply, the same words evoke similar quotations.⁴⁸

Similarly, in a series of articles on Ælfric of Eynsham's method of composition from memory, James Cross has demonstrated that the medieval homilist could store in his memory a hoard of serviceable themes, phrases, and rhetorical sequences which were "ready to be used as the trip-wire of memory was touched".⁴⁹ It does not seem impossible that, for some of

the OWN homilists at least, the proverbial phrase at mæla fagrt ok hyggja flátt could likewise have been caught up in a process of exegetical "reminiscence", and associated, not necessarily exclusively with Ps. 27:3, but with a whole network of scriptural verses expressing a similar sentiment in similar words (Ps. 54:22, "Molliti sunt sermones eius super oleum; et ipsi sunt iacula "; Ps. 61:5, "Ore suo benedicebant, et corde suo maledicebant "; Prov. 26:24, "Labiis suis intelligitur inimicus, cum in corde tractaverit dolos "; Prov. 29:5, "Homo qui blandis fictisque sermonibus loquitur amico suo, rete expandit gressibus eius"; Eccli. 12:15, "In labiis suis indulcat inimicus, et in corde suo insidiatur ut subvertat te in foveam", etc.).

At any rate, it might not be wrong to suggest that a similar sort of associative process may lie behind the use of the mæla fagrt/ hyggja flátt antithesis at Sthom. 69/34-36 (Nhom. 81/12-14), even though this passage has no clear Latin "source":

Leggiom niþr alla flárþ oc vél. oc mælom eige þa fagrt er ver
hyGiom flátt at eige glikemc ver þeim es meþ cosse sellde
drotten siN.

This sentence is one of a series of exhortations which together form the peroration of an Easter homily called "Passio Domini" in Sthom., "Dominica Palmarum Sermo" in Nhom. No single Latin model for this text has yet been discovered; but Erik Gunnes notes that in this final section of the homily "kan det merkes gjenklanger fra kirkefedrene og homiliesamlingene (Pseudo-Augustin, Maximus av Torino)".⁵⁰ Occasional references to Judas' kiss of betrayal are, not surprisingly, found in Easter sermons attributed to both these authors. However, I have not been able to find a text either in the Appendix Augustinus or among the sermons of Maximus (genuine or spurious) which offers a close analogue for the lines from the OWN homily cited above.⁵¹

In fact, it seems more likely that the Scandinavian homilist simply alludes in this passage to the custom of omitting the kiss of peace before

the Communion on Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday, as a mark of abhorrence for Judas' notorious act of "false peace". Thus, for instance, the author of a messuskýring preserved in two Icelandic mss. of the late fifteenth century explains (Mess. 78/19-22):

Skirdag ok fostvdrag. ok þuottdag. firir paska ero menn uaner at kysazt eigi ok eigi heilsazt. Enn j þui rækium ver þann koss ok kuediu er judas skariot quaddí kristum ok hann kýstí hann. þa er hann selldi hann.⁵²

Honorius Augustodunensis, Johannes Beletb and Guilelmus Durandus provide similar explanations of the practice:

Honorius, Gemma Animae III. 85, "Feria V in Cena Domini", PL 172, 665B:

Ad tertium Agnus Dei non Dona nobis pacem, sed Miserere nobis, cantatur, et pax non datur, quia Judas osculo pacis illum tradidit qui vera pax nostra fuit.⁵³

Beletb, Summa de Ecclesiasticis Officiis, CC Cont. Med. XLIA, cap. 73,e, 135/33-35:

...triduo ante Pascha osculum pacis non damus, ut Iude proditori nos esse dissimiles ostendamus.

Ibid., cap. 96,g, "De sexta feria", 171/36-38:

...non damus osculum pacis alicui propter osculum Iude nec aliquem salutamus, qui cum salutatione Iudas tradidit Christum dicens: Aue, rabbi...⁵⁴

Durandus, Rationale Divinorum Officiorum (1859), VI. 72, "De eadem quinta feria...", § 6, 512/36-39:

In his quoque tribus diebus salutatio non fit, quia Dominus vobiscum non dicitur, ut vitetur pestifera salutatio, per quam Judas tradidit Christum, dicens: Ave Rabbi. Pax etiam non datur, pro eo quod Judas osculo tradidit Christum...⁵⁵

It is also interesting to find that Durandus, in his chapter, "De pacis osculo", cites Psalm 27:3 (Rationale, IV, 53, § 1, 309/1-3):

Postquam Dominus salutavit Apostolos, ut praemissum est, iterum dixit eis: Pax vobis, ostendens quod non solum debemus pacem habere in ore, verum etiam in pectore, ne simus ex illis, qui loquuntur pacem cum proximo suo, mala autem in cordibus eorum...⁵⁶

The "tropological" significance of Judas' deed was, of course, often discussed by scriptural commentators. Candidus of Fulda († 845), for instance, in his Opusculum de Passione Domini, observes (PL 106, 77B-C):

...Quia nox erat ut scirent quem comprehenderent, dedit eis ille qui eum cognoverat, signum osculi. Signum pacis fecit signum belli. Quam multi hodie, fratres, labiis tangunt, et mente longe sunt; ore pacem dant, et cor eorum machinatur iniqua! Hic impletum est quod Dominus per prophetam dixit: "Populus hic labiis me honorat, cor autem eorum longe est a me." [Is. 29:13, Matt. 15:8, Mark 7:6].⁵⁷

And the liturgy for Maundy Thursday in particular is filled with reminders of Judas' treachery.⁵⁸ One can compare, for instance, the recitation of Psalm 119 -- "Ad dominum cum tribularer clamavi...libera animam meam a labiis iniquis et a lingua dolosa... Cum his qui oderunt pacem eram pacificus; Cum loquebar illis, impugnabant me gratis" -- and Psalm 139 -- "Eripe me, Domine, ab homine malo; a viro iniquo eripe me. Qui cogitaverunt iniquitates in corde, tota die constituebant praelia. Acuerunt linguas suas sicut serpentis; venenum aspidum sub labiis eorum" -- among the Psalms for Vespers in Cena Domini.⁵⁹ And with the "fair words/ false intent" formula it is especially interesting to compare the old eighth responsory for the third nocturn of Maundy Thursday found, for instance, in the Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae (composed early in the thirteenth century⁶⁰):.

R. O iuda qui derelequisti consilium pacis: et cum iudeis consiliatus es: triginta argenteis vendidisti sanguinem iustum. Et pacis osculum ferebas quam in pectore non habebas.

V. Os tuum abundavit malicia:
et lingua tua concinnabat dolos. (Ps. 49:19)...⁶¹

One of the examples of the phrase "fair before but not behind" cited by B.J. and H.W. Whiting (S 580) is also taken from an Easter homily -- the entry for Passion Sunday in John Myrc's Festial (ed. T. Erbe, E.E.T.S., E.S. 96 [1905, rpt. 1973], 110/24 - 114/22). Myrc opens his sermon with a discussion of the general significance of the Feast Day, then proceeds with a diatribe against those wicked individuals who, in their sinful deeds, persecute Christ long after his crucifixion. Among these are the enemies of truthfulness, in condemnation of whom he tells the following tale (111/25 - 112/12):

...These byn glad, when þay haue don a fowle dede, and ben growndud yn fowle lyuyng, and wol not amend hom for no þyng, for no prechyng, ne for no techyng. But euer defendyth hor gult by ensampull of such oþyr as þay ben, and ben wroþe and redy forto fyght wyth hym þat tellyth hom hor soþe. For more harme ys: þe world ys such þat he schall haue mony enmys þat sayþ þe soþe now allway. Herby I may schewe you an ensampull.

Narracio.

I rede þat þer was summe tyme a mawmet in a cite, þat wold tell of all stolen þyngys, and who hyt had. So was þer a zong man þat had stolen a þyng, and was adred of þat mawmet lest he had dyskeuered hym, and sayde: "Wele I wot þou myght do me schame and vyleny, yf þou wolt. But by þat God I leue on, and þou dyskeuer me, I woll breke þy hed"; and so zode forth hys way. Then sone aftyr com þay þat mysseden hor þyng, prayng þe mawmet to tell hom who hyt had. And when þay prayde soo longe, at þe last, þys mawmet spake and sayde þus: "Tymes byn changet, men byn worsont; and now þer may no man say þe soth, but zef hys hed be broken. Thus wo ys þe trew man þat lyuyth yn þys world, for he schall be so pluckyt at on yche syde, þat he schall not wytte to whom he schall dyskeuer hys counseyl; for þylk þat wyll fyrst dessayue a man, þay woll fyrst speke fayre to hym."

To this amusing exemplum Myrc immediately appends a much darker narrative, and one whose typological significance could hardly have been missed by any member of the Easter congregation (112/13-19):

For, as we redyn yn þe Boke of Kyngys, how þer wer two knyghtys þat envyut opyr: Ioab and Amasa. Then, on a day as þay meten, Ioab logh on Amansa and sayd: "Hayl broþer!" and toke hym by þe chynne, and cussed hym; but wyth þat opyr hond, he smote hym yn þe backe and slogh hym.

Thus faryth moche pepull now-on-dayes þat woll speke fayre befor a man, but bihynd þay woll sle hym wyth hor tong.⁶²

Gregory the Great refers to Joab's slaying of Amasa in his discussion of hypocrisy at Moralia XV, 11, observing (PL 76, 1087C), "Dextera quippe mentum tenere est quasi ex benignitate blandiri. Sed sinistram ad gladium mittit, qui latenter ex malitia percutit"; and this moral interpretation of the infamous slaying was repeated in many later commentaries on II Sam. 20:8-10.⁶³ Gregory's words might aptly have been rendered by the English writer, "speke fayre befor a man, but...sle him with hor tong"; but one would hardly be justified in regarding Gregory's commentary as a direct source for Myrc's sermon. The fact that the story was traditionally treated as an emblem of deceitful behaviour would have been enough to prompt Myrc's use of the phrase. Joab's murder of Amasa and Judas' betrayal of Christ were often juxtaposed in medieval picture-Bibles.⁶⁴ It is also interesting to note that Bede, in his exposition of 1 Peter 5:14, "Salutate in osculo sancto", refers to the treachery of both Joab and Judas, and cites Ps. 27:3 (PL 93, 68A-B):

Salutate invicem in osculo sancto. Osculo sancto, osculo vero, osculo pacifico, osculo columbino, non subdolo, non polluto, quali usus est Joab ad occidendum Amasam, quali Judas ad tradendum Salvatorem, quali utuntur hi qui loquuntur pacem cum proximo suo, mala autem sunt in cordibus eorum. Illi ergo osculo sancto salutant invicem, qui non diligunt verbo neque lingua, sed opere et veritate.⁶⁵

The remaining example of the "fair speech/ false intent" formula in the Homily Books -- from the Old Norwegian Soul and Body dialogue -- is also associated with Judas Iscariot. While the phrase does not alliterate in the Nhom. version of the dialogue, two later textual witnesses have

the more familiar f- alliteration:

Nhom. 149/28-32 ("Visio Sancti Pauli Apostili"):

Þu hafðer hunang í mæle þínu en gall
í brioste þínu. meðan þu mæltir slét
við mann. þa hugðir þu honum flærð.
þu for-øfðesc eigi æiða. hældr fyrir-
sört þu þic opt. Drotens-sviki þa
var engi þín make nema Iudas æin. er
svæic scapara sin.

AM 764 4to, cit. Widding and
Bekker-Nielsen, MS 21 (1959), 282:

J máli þínu hafðer þu hunang en eitr
ibriosti þviat þu mæltir fagrt en
hugder flátt þu fordadiz eigi eida
ranga at sueria helldr sortu oft
rangt drottins suiki uard eingi þinn
maki nema iudas einn er selldi uarn
drottinn skapara þinn...

JS 405 8vo, cit. Ibid., 282:

I mále þínu hafðer þú oc munne Hunáng, enn gall oc Eitr í þínu brioste
oc Hiarta þá er þú mæltir fagurt við menn, þa hugsader þú flærð mesta,
þú fordadist ecki eyð að vinna, Heldur Sórstu þig opt, Drottins Svikare
var eingin þínn make, nema Iudas einn er sveik Drottin vorn ska<pa>ra sinn.

The first lines of the passage are, of course, a version of the proverb
mel in ore, fel in corde.⁶⁶

I realize that attempting to establish connections among texts
separated by tracts of time and space as wide as those which divide many
of the examples cited in this chapter is a haphazard and often futile
exercise. It seems unlikely, however, that the relationship of these very
heterogeneous parts to one another, vague as it may appear, is merely
coincidental. The real connecting thread here, I think, is the clerical
tradition of association and "reminiscence" mentioned above. Nor is it
difficult to imagine that this tradition could also have accommodated
secular proverbs and proverbial phrases. In his Early English Proverbs,
Walter Skeat suggests that "one of the ways in which proverbs were formally

Un Samedi Par Nuit, text P,
139-154:

El cuer (ms. cors) auoies fiel
Et en la bouce miel.
Quant a home parloies,
Felonie pensoies;
Et que plus li rioies,
Et plus le deceuoies.
Serement ne doutoies,
Souent te periuroies;
Tot faus a escient
En fesis plus de cent.
De traison penser
Ne fu onques ton per,
Fors Iudas le dolent,
Qui se liura al uent
Et a estre pendu
Por la mort de Iezu.

popularized was by their use in sermons delivered in the vernacular".⁶⁷

G.R. Owst makes far loftier claims for the importance of the medieval homilist as the true mouth-piece of the ordinary people, the custodian of their language and thought. It was, he says,

...neither poet nor dramatist, neither novelist nor chronicler, who first condescended to take notice of these [everyday sayings and proverbs] with a view to including them in his own compositions, there to be preserved as vivid reflections of current life. Before ever the day of such literary realism and humanism had dawned, it was the homilist who first stooped to raise them from the level of the dusty commonplace and set them on high amid the wider concerns of the human mind, thus "making their dust fat with fatness". He it was, ... who clothed them for the first time with a deep spiritual and social significance for the ordinary man, who linked them in his more polished speech with great religious themes and moral principles, with the majestic struggle of humanity between Right and Wrong, with the fate of Christendom, with the solemn issues of Life and Death, Judgment and the Hereafter, the whole impressive revelation of the Church.⁶⁸

Owst overstates his case somewhat, but one may well ask whether a commonplace phrase like at mæla fagrt ok hyggja flátt, once it had been drawn into a complex of grander associations and become linked in particular with the archetypal story of betrayal told in the gospels, could ever have been completely divorced from these elevated themes again. Henceforth, would not anyone to whom such a phrase was applied become something of a Judas?⁶⁹

The Christian sensibility seems always to have harboured a certain distrust of "fair speech" ("that which cometh out of the mouth, this de-fileth a man").⁷⁰ It is perhaps not surprising that the compounds fagr-mæli and sléttmæli very often have a pejorative connotation in OWN clerical writings.⁷¹ Presumably (the cynical morality of stanza 45 of Hávamál aside), Icelanders and Norwegians found hypocritical behaviour equally offensive before their conversion to Christianity. But one can well imagine that a Scandinavian preacher would have wasted no time in "prime-signing",

as it were, so serviceable a native saw as þeir mæla fagrt ok hyggja
flátt.⁷²

1. Sthom. 188/1,3; 190/31,33,35; 191/2 (cf. Bede I. 14, CCSL 122, 103/268, 274). See Kirby, Biblical Quotation, I, 284-285. The Icelandic homilist (or the scribe of his text) retains the Latin word when it first occurs in the pericope (187/36 ...feðreb arkitriclino), but it is interesting to note that a later hand has supplied a superscript gloss, manne (see Wisén's note, Sthom. 187, n.4; van Arkel, 87r 11).

Cf., e.g., the use of þinghus hofþingi for archisynagogus in the translation of Luke 13:14 at Leifar 85/20 (Gr. 31 in Ev., cit. Kirby, Biblical Quotation, I, 251).

2. The translator of this text is adept at finding idiomatic equivalents for Latin words and phrases. Cf., e.g.,
 Sthom. 176/18: kirkio scot = PL 41,809A, §2: locum sanctum baptisterii
 201/22: hæfþingia vellde = 809D, §3: principatus
 202/6: lyge maþr = 811B, §4: seductor
 202/11,12,17,18: kistell = 811B-C, §4: calathus
 203/17: ...es fyrst háþe goþs orrostor = 813B-C : ...primum
adversum Judæos dominica bella bellavit.
 203/31: grióthaugr = 813C, §6: acervus minutorum lapidum (The parallel text in the version of Stephanus saga in the ms. fragment AM 655 XIVb 4to agrees with Sthom. here; cf. Ole Widding, "Et fragment af Stephanus saga...", A.Ph.S. 21 [1952], 146, 1v,13. Widding notes [150, n.5] that the versions of the saga in Holm 2 fol. have more literal renderings of the phrase: respectively, haugr smárra steina [HMS II, 301/9-10], and haugr af smam steinum giorr.)
 203/31: i landnorþr = 813D, §7: ad boream
 204/11: keNe manna fundr = 815A, §8: synodus.

^{Mhom.} 107/25.

3. ^A Cf. Grímr Hólmsteinsson's Jóns s. baptista II, Post. 914/13-15:

...Sumir segia, at hon hafi kveðit með listuligum nota

mansaungscantica oc þeytt þar eptir með mikilli kunnastu margboraðar pipur.

An even more theatrical depiction of Salome's performance is cited by G.R. Owst from ms. Harl. 2398, fol. 8 ("The People's Sunday Amusements in the Preaching of Mediaeval England", Holborn Review, Jan. 1926, 40-41):

...every Englishman who did his duty in the Middle Ages and listened intelligently to sermons (as he was repeatedly bidden) could have told you, doubtless, that "Herodius' daughter... was a tumbestere, and tumblede byfore him and other grete lordes of that contre".

4. "Jn die sancti Olavi Regis et martiris", Nhom. 111/2-3. Cf. the rest of the passage (111/3-5) based on Ephesians 6:17. The militia Christi is also described as a holmganga at Barl. 54/19-20 (of St Anthony contending with a host of demons: "En Iesus Kristr glæymdi eigi holmgangu sins berserks").

The loan-word ríðari (from MLG rīdere, see de Vries, A.e.W., s.v.) had established itself in OWN by the twelfth century (see D.A. Seip, Norsk Språkhistorie til omkring 1370 [1931], 122). Cf. esp. the refrain of Einarr Skúlason's Geisli (st. 18, etc.), "Greitt má gumnum létta/ goðs ríðari stríðum...". St Stephen, with whom 'Oláfr is perhaps compared when he is called, at Nhom. 111/5, "frum-vátr í Norége hins hæsta konungs" ("Óláfs messa in síðari" and the invention of Stephen's relics are celebrated on the same day, Aug. 3) is also styled cristis ríðari in the OWN homily for St Stephen's day (here based on Fulgentius 3, PL 65, 729f.; see O. Widding, "De norrøne homiliebøgers prædiken på Stephansdag", MM [1959], 43):

Sthom. 176, 32-33 (Nhom. 43/30): PL 65, 729C:

...í dag hælldom vér sigrsæla
píls [sic] rípera hans...

...hodie celebramus triumphalem
militis passionem...

177/5-6 (44/4):

730A:

...i dag tóć rúm hœll himins
viþ stephano cristz riþera...

...hodie immensitas cœli sus-
cepit Stephanum triumphantem.

5. Sthom. 48/23-24 ("Nativitas doMiNi. A Joladag"), "...eilifr konungr sa er boreN var a þesse nótt, meþ logoneyte engla siNa"; cf. Ibid., 45/33 - 46/1, "...aðám [var]...sva skapaþr...at hann mætte...neyta fagnaþi paradisar i auglite oc i logoneyte engla guþs". No source has been identified for either passage. Cf. Sthom. 171/5 hervígi engla (= legiones angelorum, Matt. 26:53), and the more commonly used phrases engla sveit and engla fylki (e.g., Sthom. 88/27 e. sveiter [Nhom. 137/19 e. fylki] = angelorum ordines, Gr. 34 in Ev., PL 76, 1249D; 89/2 e. sveiter = angelorum chori, 1250C; 91/22 e. fylke = angelorum agmines, 1254B; 92/11 e. fylke = beatorum spirituum ordines 1255B).

Mattias Tveitane (Den lærde stil..., 102) notes that in the OWN translation of Vitae Patrum the phrase himneskir hermenn is used to render virtutes cælestes (HMS II, 377/33, 378/3), and himnesk herferð is found for cælestis militia. He compares the phrase heimamenn himinríkis found in Guðmundar saga Arasonar by Abbot Arngrímur (Brandsson?, Bisk. II, 152/24) and Barl. (98/20, cf. Ps. Ioh. Dam. 69/34 cælestis exercitus).

6. Sthom. 44/37-38 ("A allra heilagra Messu. Omnium sanctorum"):

...meþ ógn mikille honum þíónar þa öll himinríkes hírþ
báþe englar oc helger meN hans.

Sthom. 71/34 ("ResvRectio doMiNi"):

...allre himinsríkis hírþ varþ mikill fognopur at upriso dróttens.

Sthom. 150/32-34:

Acta S. Sebastiani, PL 17, 1122B:

Fagnom vér þeim er sigr vógo

...congaudeamus martyrii prætexta

a fióndom. oc nu ero tígnar indutis, et cæli factos consules
gorver. aller helger í himna gloriemur.
conungs hirp.

Cf. the version in AM 238 fol. XII, ed. A. Loth, "Til Sebastianus saga", Bibl. Arn. 31 (1975), 114: "...fognum ver með þeim er sig[r] barv af fiandanum ok nu þegar eru rædnir til himinrikis hallar...".

See also Sthom. 1/4-5:

...voro guþs viner oflger. sem somer hirþmonnom oc conungs
vinom...

(On this text, an allegory of the eight church modes, see Róbert A. Ottósson, "Das musiktheoretische Textfragment im Stockholmer Homilienbuch", Bibl. Arn. 30 (1970), 169-176; J.W. Marchand, "The Old Icelandic Allegory of the Church Modes", The Musical Quarterly 61 [1975], 553-559.)

7. Sthom. 164/32-34 (with reference to Matt. 22:7, cf. Gr. 38 in Ev., PL.76, 1285A):

...oc seNder hann heR siN til
at glata vikingonom. þar ero
englar hans er heR sa er...

...Missis vero exercitibus extinx-
isse homicidas dicitur, quia in
hominibus omne iudicium per angelos
exhibetur. Quid namque sunt illa
angelorum agmina, nisi exercitus
Regis nostri?

As Ernst Walter points out (Lex. Lehn., 103) the word víkingr is regularly used in clerical prose to render a variety of terms associated with "Gewalttat": cf. Sthom. 143/24 = pirata (Acta S. Sebastiani, PL 117, 1117A); Nhom. 19/5 = raptor (Alc. VV, PL 101, 628A); Nhom. 20/8 = prædo (PL 101, 628D); Nhom. 150/30 = robere ("Un Samedi Par Nuit", P 270; cf. AM 696 4to, "micill vikingur ok manndrapamadr", JS 405 8vo "mikill maðr til vikingskapar; oc...manndrápare", cit. O. Widding and H. Bekker-Nielsen, MS 21 [1959], 284); Leifar 17/11 = hostes (Prosper, Epigrammata, 78 [75], PL 51, 522A); Matheus s. post. I, Post. 803/37 = latro (Mombritius II, 261/47); Barl. 116/6

hermaðr oc grimr vikingr = tyrannus (Ps. Ioh. Dam., 80/6); Stjórn 489/31 = latrunculus (I Sam. 30:8). Salvesen, 48, notes that vikingr is found for tyrannus in the OWN Elucidarius; and Rudolf Meissner cites numerous examples of the use of the term in Rómverja saga to render both tyrannus and pirata (Palaestra 88 [1910], 272-273). Víking translates latrocinia at Nhom. 27/2 (Alc. VV, PL 101, 634B), and also figures in a catalogue of vices at Nhom. 87/27 (on this text see esp. J.T.P., "Sources...", 173-174).

Many similar examples of folkeligt ordvalg in the homilies could, of course, be cited. The archangel Michael is called höfþinge paradisar (Nhom. 142/12-13), the apostles höfþingiar allrar cristne (Sthom. 15/16, cf. references to St Peter as höfðingi postola at, e.g., Leifar 183/23, Petr s. post. II, Post. 215/12). The emotive term drottens sviki is applied to Judas in the ON translation of Alc. VV (24/31-32 = PL 101, 632C, proditor Domini; cf. AM 685d 4to, ed. Widding, Ed. Arn. A 4 [1960], 114/2 seliare hans) and in the "Soul and Body" dialogue in Nhom. (149/31, Drottens-sviki þa var engi þín make nema Iudas æin...; cf. "Un Samedi Par Nuit", P 149-151, De traison penser/ Ne fu onques ton per,/ Fors Iudas le dolent). And a celebrated example of the interpretatio germanica is found in the superscript gloss mipgarparormr for leviþan at Sthom. 75/26. (The passage is a discussion of Job 40:20 based on Gregory's twenty-fifth gospel homily. Mipgarpar- is Larsson's reading; see Studier över den Stockholmska homilieboken [1887]; 24; cf. van Arkel, 35 v 11; Björn Hagström, Scripta Islandica 26 [1975], 35, §41. Wisén has mipgarþsormr; cf. the parallel text in AM 686c 4to, ed. Konráð Gíslason, Um Frumparta íslenzkrar Tungu í Fornöld [1846], CIII/11, Mipgarzormr. See further Magnús Már Lárusson, "Um Niðrstigningsögu" Skírnir 129 [1955], 164; J.W. Marchand, "Leviathan and the Mousetrap in the Niðrstigningsaga", SS 47 [1975], 329 and n.4.)

Countless similar passages attest to the homilists' imaginative use of their native word-hoard. Cf., e.g.:

		H.L. Spencer, <u>MS</u> 44 (1982) 285/47-287/48 (cf. J. Turville-Petre, Sthom. 62/16 ("JN capite ieiunii"): <u>Traditio</u> 19 [1963], 58):
Siálfr iesus eggiape sína <u>faronauta</u> til vocuNar...		Unde et salvator ad vigilandum <u>auditores suos</u> excitat...
<u>Ibid.</u> , 64/6-8:		<u>Ibid.</u> , 291/102-103 (cf. J. Turville-Petre, <u>ibid.</u> , 60):
Olmosogðpe...kallar...gub til umbhyGio víp síN fpronaut.		Aelimosina...Deum convocat in adiutorium.
cf. Nhom. 126/15-16:		Metcalf, 91/13:
...er hann genge fastlegra bundit sic í <u>anzscotans</u> <u>faronæyti</u>		...tanto fieret inimico obligatior...
		<u>Regula Benedicti</u> , cap.iv, "Quae sunt instrumenta bonorum operum", ed. R. Hanslik, <u>C.S.E.L.</u> 75 (2nd ed., 1977), IV. 39 (p.34):
Sthom. 142/25 (<u>Leifar</u> 177/8):	Sthom. 192/15:	
...[eige]ma g lonar samr...	...eige ma g lonar samr...	...non murmuriosum...
cf. Nhom. 28/3 <u>mogglan</u> (AM 685d 4to, ed. Widding, <u>Ed. Arn.</u> A4, 124/7, <u>moglun</u> = Alc. VV, PL 101, 635B, <u>murmuratio</u> .)		
Sthom. 142/28-30 (<u>Leifar</u> 177/1):	Sthom. 192/21-22:	<u>Regula Benedicti</u> , IV. 51-54 (p.35):
...vera eige hlátr míldr. ne fiðl- mólogr. allra sízt heimsmologr. vera eige þrátiN ne þiorkudríúgr.	Varðveittu muN þiN fra orðom illom oc ó skylldom Scalltu eige mála mart oc eige hlátr míldr vera.	Os suum a malo uel prabo eloquio custodire multum loqui non amare uerba uana aut risui apta non loqui, risum multum aut excussum non amare.
	<u>Ibid.</u> , 192/35: ...þesse ero <u>andleg</u> <u>smíðar tól</u> ...	<u>Ibid.</u> , IV. 75 (p.37): Ecce haec sunt <u>instrumenta</u> <u>artis spiritalis</u> .

Sthom. 156/30-31:

...sva mun oc guþ láta elldiN ganga yfer allan heimeN
at nestlōconum...

Sthom. 168/29-30:

cf. Gr. 38 in Ev., PL 76, 1290C:

...snuasc þa til gøtsco sumer
þeir at nestlōcom efiNar...

...juxta finem vitæ a pravitate
sua...revocatur...

Nhom. 9/27:

Alc. VV, PL 101, 620D (Ps. 83:3,
see Kirby, Biblical Quotation I.60):

Önd mín fysisc ok girnisc í
garða drottens.

Concupiscit et deficit anima
mea in atria Domini.

cf. AM 56 8vo, ed. Widding,
Ed. Arn. A4, 68/2-3:

Aund min girnizt j garða guðs.

Cf. the use of skíþgarþr for atrium in the Sthom. Passion gospel harmony (Sthom. 171/9, 11, 12, cf. Matt. 26:58, Mark 14:54, Luke 22:55, John 18:15; on this text see Ian Kirby, ANF 91 [1976], 130-137.)

Nhom. 24/3-4:

Alc. VV, PL 101, 631D:

...sva sem scrópa-menn ero
vaner at gera.

...sicut hypocritæ facere
solent.

cf. AM 685d 4to, ed. Widding,
Ed. Arn. A4, 110/18:

...so sem flærdsamer menn ero vaner at gera.

Cf. Leifar 180/23-24, skrópamenn = Ps. Aug., "De Conflictu Vitiorum et Virtutum", PL 40, 1094C, hypocritæ; Nhom. 29/3 scrópar = Alc. VV, PL 101, 636A, hypocrisis (same translation in AM 685d 4to, ed. cit., 128/4). See also Oddur Gottskálksson's translation of James 5:12, Hid Nya Testament (1540), "...suo at þier fallit ecki i skropasemd" (cf. Vulgate: "...uti non sub iudicio decidatis"; Luther [1534], "...auf daß ihr nicht in Heucheley falltet"; Guðbrandsbiblíá [1584], "...i hræsne"; see Jón Helgason, Málið á Nýja Testamenti Odds Gottskálkssonar [1929], 356). Oddur regularly uses the terms hræsni and hræsnari for hypocrisis, hypocrita (cf. Jón Helgason, op.cit., 284-285, and 359, s.vv. smjaðran, smjaður). The words skí and skímaðr are also commonly used in OWN to render the same terms. See Fritzner, Cleasby-Vigfusson, s.vv.; cf. Nhom. 76/25-26 (Matt. 6:16 -- Kirby, I. 152); Leifar 85/21 (Luke 13:15 -- Kirby I. 251).

Cf. too Kirby's note on the term aburpar meN found for ethnici at Sthom. 195/26 (Biblical Quotation, I. 150, Matt. 6:7, II. 154).

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| Nhom. 39/15: | Gr. 8 <u>in Ev.</u> , PL 76, 1104A: |
| ...sua sem <u>á annars oðale...</u> | ...quasi <u>in alieno...</u> |
| Nhom. 110/6-7: | cf. Metcalfe, 70/10-11: |
| ...ávítaðe <u>þrioscomenn ok</u> | ...non cessabat...obstinatos |
| <u>harðhugaða...</u> | convincere... |
| Cf. Nhom. 25/26 <u>þrjozska</u> = Alc. VV, PL 101, 633A <u>contumacia</u> (AM 685d 4to, <u>ed. cit.</u> , 116/5 <u>þrutnan</u>); Nhom. 25/28 <u>þrjozka</u> = <u>Ibid.</u> , 633B <u>pertinacia</u> (AM 685d 4to, <u>ed. cit.</u> , 116/8 <u>þragirni</u>). | |
| Nhom. 117/20-21: | cf. Metcalfe, 81/15-16: |
| ...enn siðan er hann <u>bræuzc</u> | Denique cum ille, dolore anxius, |
| <u>umm ok blaðraðe...</u> | lingue residuum mouens balbutire |
| | uideretur... |
| Nhom. 123/18-19: | cf. Metcalfe, 88/5: |
| ...er hon la ok <u>snorglaðe...</u> | ...uolutabatur spumans... |
| Nhom. 148/21-22: | "Un Samedi Par Nuit", P 15-16: |
| ...var su hin auma <u>grøn sem</u> | E estoit la chaitiue |
| <u>graslaucr</u> | <u>Si verde comme chiue</u> |
| cf. AM 764 4to, ed. O. Widding | |
| and H. Bekker-Nielsen, <u>MS</u> 21 | |
| (1959), 280/22-23: | |
| ... <u>sem gras maþkr gulr...</u> | |
| JS 405 8vo, <u>Ibid.</u> , 280/39: | |
| ... <u>so sem guler graslækar...</u> | |
| Nhom. 150/14-15: | <u>Ibid.</u> , P 216-217: |
| ...nu ertu <u>sem fouski...</u> | Ore es <u>comme la brese</u> |
| cf. AM 696 4to XXXII, | <u>Dont es chaois li feus</u> |
| <u>ed. cit.</u> , 283/24: | |
| ...sem fauskr... | |
| JS 405 8vo, <u>ed. cit.</u> , 283/43: | |
| ...sem fölske... | |

Nhom. 150/15:

Ibid., P 219:

Du vart drambvisare en bersercr...

Plus fier eres de Saisne

cf. AM 696 4to, ed.cit., 283/25:

Drambuisare vartþu berserkjum [!].

JS 405 8vo, ed. cit., 283/24:

Drambvisare varstu enn Berserkr nockr.

Nhom. 150/24:

Ibid., P 254:

Faðer vár hann var ricr [marginal addition] rytta...

Nostre pere fu ueautre

cf. B 250:

cf. AM 696 4to, ed. cit., 284/22:

Nostres peres fu preus

...fader var var rikur maðr...

JS 405 8vo, ed. cit., 284/38:

Fader vor var okr karl...

Fritzner, s.v. rytta, punctuates ricr, rytta, taking the noun (vocative) to refer to the body. (He compares analogous apostrophes at Nhom. 150/11 vesol vétr, 150/19 vesal, 150/32 vesol scepna.)

Astrid Salvesen (Gammelnorsk Homilieboek [1971], 133) translates, "Far vár, han var en mektig stympur". As C.R. Unger notes, however (Gammel Norsk Homiliebog [1864], 221, ad loc.), the masculine adjective ricr cannot modify the feminine noun rytta, and was probably meant as a substitute reading (cf. the variant, preus, in the B version of "Un Samedi Par Nuit"): "...det sidste Ord maa efter al Sandsynlighed gaa ud, skjønt Afskriveren har glemt at stryge det; thi rytta (et Skrog) er Hunkjønssord, og stemmer ikke med Hankjønnsformen ricr, og heller ikke passer Ordets Betydning; Meningen maa være: Vor Fader var en mægtig Mand, som underkuede sine Naboer, o.s.v."

The use of rytta to translate ueautre is interesting. The OF word normally means "a hound, a hunting-dog" (see, e.g., A.J. Greimas, Dictionnaire de l'Ancien Français [2e édition, 1968], s.v. veltre, "chien qui chasse l'ours et le sanglier"; cf. W. von Wartburg, Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch, s.v. vertragus, "windhund"; Niermeyer, s.v. veltris, "Chien de chasse...greyhound"); and although in OWN rytta is used exclusively in the sense "elendig menneske, stakkar" (Fritzner; see, e.g., Barl. 88/34 gamul rytta, cf. Vinc. Beauv., Spec. Hist., XI.97, senex; Barl. 154/34 gamvl oc vesol rytta = Ps. Ioh. Dam. 100/36 miser), the word may be derived from OE ryðða, m., "a species of dog, mastiff" (B.T.; cf. de Vries, A.e.W., s.v. -- E. Björkman, Scandinavian Loanwords in Middle English).

Studien zur englischen Philologie, Heft 7 [1900-1902], 232).
 Alexander Jóhannesson, however (709) relates the word to rot,
rotinn, rotna, etc. (cf. Blöndal, s.v. rytta, f., "la (ljeleg
skepna) usselt, magert Dyr, spec. daarlig Ko el. daarligt
 Malkefaar. -- b. (ljeleg slægja) daarlig Eng...").

Nhom. 151/2-3:

...kona þín hefir gipsk manne þeim
 er hon kaus sér meðan þu lát á nastrám...
 cf. AM 696 4to, ed.cit., 284/32:

...þa þu latt a nastram...

JS 405 8vo, ed. cit., 284/47:

...medann þú lást a Bōrunum...

cf. HMS I, 199/3

... .i. buande, þa es sa la
á náström...

Ibid. 231/23-24:

...melti víþ prestinn, þa es
hann la a nástróm: "Leg þu mic
 i grof þína."

VP I, HMS II, 415/17-18:

...med því at einn af þeim
la á nástrám...

VP II, Ibid., 575/21:

...er einn þeira la a nastram...

P 289-292:

Ta feme a pris segnor
 El siecle a grant honor;
Ains l'ot ele choisi,
Qe fuisses enfoi.

Gr. Dialogues, ed. de Vogüé, vol.
 2, 112: I.12. 1/5-6:

...cum quidam paterfamilias ad
extremum uenisset diem...

Ibid., vol.2, 358-60: III.23.2/16-19:

Cum...ad extrema peruenit, atque
 adsistenti presbytero iussit, dic-
 ens: "In tuo sepulcro me pone."

HMS II, 415/34-35:

...cum quidem ex eis in extremis
ageret...

Ibid., 575/37:

...quorum unus moriens...

Nhom. 170/18-20:

...Oc en í aðrum stað. segir hann sva. Nolite errare. deus non
irridetur [Gal. 6:7]. Hirðioð eigi at villa Crist. því at guð
lætr æigi skiaalkiasc.

Many of the "homely" translations used by the homilists were
 either already part of a traditional "lexicon" of scriptural and
 doctrinal vocabulary, or quickly became common coin, e.g.:

guðspjallaskáld for evangelista (Sthom. 56/31, 161/9, 180/11-12,
 183/1, 187/27; cf. Kahle, 369; Thors, 400 -- guðspjallari,
guðspjallamaðr).

hundraðshöfðingi for centurio (Sthom. 175/21 [cf. Matt. 8:8], 126/16 [Matt. 27:54]; cf., e.g., Post. 228/24, 26, 257/33, 258/1,3 [Acts 22:25-26], 230/5, 259/15 [Acts 23:23], 231/11, 299/30 [Acts 24:23], 233/20, 301/34-35, 264/11, 280/14 [Acts 27:1]; Meissner, Rómverja s., 187 for many examples; Oddur Gottskálksson [1540], Matt. 8:5,8, 27:54, Luke 7:2, 23:47, etc.).

sálmaskáld for psalmista (Sthom. 15/17, 28/17, 75/18, 89/7,28, 90/2, 101/21 [Nhom. 98/7], 106/14, 162/28, 186/18,23 [Nhom. 56/33, 57/4], Nhom. 43/21; cf. Kahle, 369; see also M.R. Godden's remarks on Ælfric's use of the terms sealmscop, sealmwyrhta, "Ælfric's Changing Vocabulary", English Studies 61 [1980], 213).

skriðkvikendi for reptilis/ serpens (Sthom. 167/13 [cf. PL 76, 1287A, reptilia]; cf., e.g., Stjórn 18/33 [Gen. 1:24 reptilia], 317/20 [Lev. 11:44 reptilis]; Oddur Gottskálksson [1540], Acts 10:12 serpentia, Rom. 1:23 serpentia; see Jón Helgason, Málið..., 296, s.v. kind).

skrímsl for phantasma (Sthom. 131/36-37, "Eige scall þu anna mic hræþasc ne þat átla at ec sia skrímsl er þer vitromc" [De nativitate Mariae IV. 1, ed. C. Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocrypha [1876, rpt. 1966], 115/27-28: "Ne timens Anna, neque phantasma putes esse quod vides"]; cf. Elucidarius, ed. Konráð Gíslason, ANOH [1858], 60/22, 106/12 [Lefevre 369/25]; Pétr's s. post. II, Post. 160/21 [Matt. 14:26]; Oddur Gottskálksson [1540], Matt. 14:26, Mark 6:49).

skrökváttir for falsus testis (Sthom. 171/35 [Matt. 26:60 falsi testes]; Nhom. 20/32 [Alc. VV, PL 101, 629C falsus testis, cf. AM 685d 4to, ed. Widding, Ed. Arn. A 4, 102/1, skrokuattr], 21/2 [Ibid., 629C falsidicus testis, cf. AM 685d 4to, ed. cit., 102/8 <s>krok vottar]. Cf. Sthom. 143/11 skrökmaör [Acta S. Sebastiani, PL 17, 1116D, mendax]; Nhom. 125/29-30 "...þvi scrøcqv biör hann trva er hann telr fyrir..." [Metcalf 90/24-25, "...ad credendum, quod falso promittit..."]. Rómverja s. XLIII.10,83/1-2, "...af þæira svait tók hann sér vitnisburði ok skraukvætti..." [Sallust, Catilinae Coniuratio, 16.2: "ex illis testis signatoresque falsos commodare..."]. Oddur Gottskálksson has falsvitne at Matt. 26:60. For some other

OWN renderings of falsus testis, falsum testimonium, etc., see Fritzner, Cleasby-Vigfusson, s.vv. falsváttr, falsvitni, ljúgváttr, ljúgvitni, lygivitni, skrök, skröksmaðr, skrökváttr, skrökvitni.).

skuldar-/ skuldunautr for debitor (in translations of the Lord's Prayer, Matt. 6:12 ...debitoribus nostris: Nhom. 100/30 ...sculdar-nautum vorum; Leifar 160/42 ...skuldonautum vorum; cf. Nhom. 156/15 ...varom saku-nautum. See Kirby, Biblical Quotation, I.151 for variant translations: Sthom. 31/22-23 ...þeim er við oss hafa misgert, 34/24 ...skulderom, 118/11 ...þeim es oss misbióða, 135/35 ...þeim monnom. er afgöra við oss, 198/31 ...sculdorum; Nhom. 27/23 ...sculdarum [Alc. VV, cf. AM 685d 4to, ed. Widding, Ed. Arn. A 4, 122/9 ...skvllldarmonnum; AM 688a 4to, Ibid., 122/25 ...skulldunautum]. Skuldunautr is also the term used by Oddur Gottskálksson at Matt. 6:12 (cf. skuldamaður at Luke 7:41, Rom. 15:27; see Jón Helgason, Málið..., 357); and Kirby suggests [II. 154] that in spite of variations in the treatment of individual words in the OWN versions of the Oratio Dominica, "the overall similarity of the Norse quotations indicates that a standard form of the prayer was developing".).

tjaldbúð for tabernaculum (Sthom. 177/3 [Nhom. 44/1] tialldbúð licams sins = tabernaculum corporis [PL 65, 729C]; cf. Stephanus saga, HMS II, 296/8 [Acts 7:46]; Maríu saga 83/15 [Ps. 14:1]; Stjórn 63/19 [Gen. 9:21], 247/6 [Ex. 1:11, cf. Comestor, Historia Scholastica, PL 198, 1142D], 306/12 [Ex. 25:9], 306/38-309/31 passim [Ex. 26:1 - 29:11]; Rómverja s. XVIII.9, 39/23 [Sallust, Bellum Iugurthinum 71.4]; H. Uecker, ed., Der Wiener Psalter, Ed. Arn. B 27 [1980], 5 [Ps. 17:12], 13 [Ps. 18:6, cf. Sthom. 162/22, "í sólo setti hann búp sína], 31 [Ps. 26:5]. Cf. too Ibid., 75 [Ps. 54:16, habitacula]; and renderings of tabernaculum testimonii at, e.g., HMS II, 296/3 [Acts 7:44], tialldbudir logmals eda vitnis; Stjórn 310/37 [Ex. 29:42], 311/18, 20 [Ex. 30:18, 20], uitnisbud; 310/39 [Ex. 26:44], saatmalsbud) Oddur Gottskálksson has sattmalans tialld bud at Acts 7:44, tjaldbuðar-hátið at John 7:2 [= scenopegia], tjaldbúðarhús at Hebr. 9:6,8 [cf. Jón Helgason, Málið..., 190 377].).

vandhlaupr for cophinus (Sthom. 121/25 [see Matt. 14:20 , Mark 6:43, Luke 9:17, John 6:13]; cf. Leifar 171/4 [John 6:13], Leiðarvísan, st. 28, Skjð A I, 623; Stjórn 247/24 [Ps. 80:7, cit. Comestor, Historia Scholastica, PL 198, 1142B; cf. Der Wiener Psalter, ed. cit., 139, ad loc., "...hónd hans j feli þeir hafa uardueftt"]. See also Stjórn 442/15 = sportula [1 Sam. 9:7] Oddur Gottskálksson uses the loanword karfa [cf. MLG korf, Lat. corbis] to translate cophinus at Matt. 14:20, Mark 6:43, etc.).

On OWN Christian vocabulary in general see Kahle; Thors; Walter, Lex. Lehn.; Jón Helgason, Málið..., 192-200. On the substitution of native equivalents for foreign names and terms in some other OWN translations see, e.g., B.M. Ólsen, Den tredje og fjerde grammatiske afhandling, STUAGNL 12 (1884), IVff.; R. Meissner, Die Strengleikar. Ein beitrage zur geschichte der altnordischen prosalitteratur (1902), 234ff.; s.a., Rómverja s., 183-218; Christine Fell, "The Old West Norse Version of the Book of Joshua", Proceedings of the First International Saga Conference ...Edinburgh, 1971, ed. P. Foote, Hermann Pálsson, D. Slay (1973), 114-142.

8. On this text, see below, pp. 662ff.
9. Skjð A I, 655,c, "Trollkvenna heiti"; 688, æ æ, "Grýlu heiti".
10. Descriptions of the devil and other figures of evil in vulpine terms are, of course, commonplace, even in "learned" texts. Cf., e.g., J.W. Marchand, "Leviathan and the Mousetrap in Niðrstignings-saga", SS 47 (1975), 334-335.
11. Pseudodoxia I.3, in S. Wilkin, ed., Sir Thomas Browne's Works (1835-36), II, 194, cit. Grace Frank, "Proverbs in Medieval Literature", MLN 58 (1943), 512-513.

12. cit. Archer Taylor, The Proverb (1931, rpt., 1962), 87, from Eberhard von Künssberg, Jahrbuch für historische Volkskunde I (1925), 72.
13. Frank, op. cit., 508.
14. See below, pp. 239ff.
15. Owst, Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England (2nd ed., 1961), 41. For examples of vernacular proverbs preserved in Latin texts, either "in the original" or in Roman dress, see A. Lecoy de la Marche, La chaire française au moyen âge (2nd ed., 1886), 251, n.2; Arpad Steiner, "The Vernacular Proverb in Mediaeval Latin Prose", American Journal of Philology 65 (1944), 37-68; Phyllis B. Roberts, Stephanus de Lingua-Tonante. Studies in the Sermons of Stephen Langton (1968), 54-55.
16. As Siegfried Wenzel has suggested, one of the principal reasons for the great popularity of proverbs among preachers as among the common people was:

...their recognized value as proof texts. In preaching they clearly enjoyed an authority on a par with scriptural and patristic quotations. A thirteenth-century ars dictaminis for example, defines proverbium as "auctorabile dictum virtutis et moralitatis inductivum" whose use is sanctified by Christ himself since He spoke "in proverbiiis"; and Martin Luther still shared this view when he commented that vernacular proverbs "are a strong argument" ["Es ist ein fein Ding umb proverbialia germanica undt sind starcke beweisung."]. ... together with biblical and patristic quotations and exempla, proverbs formed a standard ingredient in the material collected to prove a moral point.

(Verses in Sermons. Fasciculus Morum and Its Middle English Poems [1978], 96-97; Wenzel cites from Walter Kronbichler, Die "Summa de Arte Prosandi" des Konrad von Mure, Geist und Werke der Zeiten 17 [1968], 150, and E. Thiele, Luthers Sprich-

wörtersammlung [1900], xvii.

On the habitual use of proverbs by Norwegian and Icelandic clerical authors of the middle ages see, e.g., Bjarne Berulfsen, Kulturtradisjon fra en Storhetstid (1948), 295ff. In addition to examples of proverbial phrases from fourteenth-century episcopal correspondence, he refers to the citation of the proverb griser giallda þess er gomul suin vallda in a discussion of Noah's curse on Ham's son Canaan in one of the texts of the first section of Stjórn (Stjórn 63/32-33, B ms., Gen. 9:25; cf. Comestor, Historia Scholastica, PL 198, 1087B, "Peccata quidem patrum sæpe vindicantur in filios temporaliter"). Similarly, D.A. Seip ("En norsk oversættelse av Prosper fra 12. hundreår", MM [1943], 117) notes that the author of the OWN translation of the Epigrams of Prosper of Aquitaine is prompted by a citation of Prov. 1:7 to make use of an alliterative "ordspråklignende setning":

Leifar 54/4-5:

...þar er sva umb ritit at
hretsla er upphaf allar
specþar en þa missir allz
ef uphafs missir.

Prosper, Ep. 10, PL 51, 503A:

...cum sit scriptum, Initium
sapientiae timor Domini.

Interestingly, Hallvard Lie, in his Studier i Heimskringlas Stil (NVAOS, Hist.-Fil. Kl., 1936, No. 5 [1937], 113) suggests that the extensive use of proverbs and similar "citations" in Sverris saga gives certain passages a distinctly "homiletic" character:

Kanskje intet tjener i den grad til at særkjenne Sv.-sagas retorikk overfor Hkr.'s som den hyppige forekomst av citater hermer, ordsprog o.l., som Snorres taler på sin side er praktisk talt rene for.... Undertiden gir disse innleggene Sv.-sagas taler et prediken-aktig preg, og det er spørsmål

om de ikke for en del er å se i direkte forbindelse med Sverres og abbed Karls spesielle geistlige forutsetninger...

Sverrir's "sermon" to the people of Bergen, for instance, is adorned with a homely proverb (Sverris saga, ed. G. Indrebø [1920], k. 99, 106/17-19):

...Ecki tocum ver þat af os sialfum helldr synði gvð
hverso litit honom var firir at steypa þeira ofdrambi.
oc kemr þar at því sem mælt er. at sart bitr solltin
lus.

17. No similar turn of phrase is found in Gr. 38 in Ev.; the corresponding passage (PL 76, 1285D) is an ubi sunt catalogue.
18. For further OWN examples of this proverb (from Njáls saga, Gísla saga, Partalopus saga, etc.) see Fritzner, s.v. kaldr 2; Finnur Jónsson, "Oldislandske Ordsprog og Talemåder", ANF 30 (1914), 103, § 217; H. Gering, "Altnordische Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten", ANF 32 (1916), 10, s.v. kona. Another clerical author introduces the saying into his translation of Jerome's Life of Malcus (HMS I, 443/17-21; no similar phrase is found in the Latin text -- cf. PL 23, 57A). And the author of Hugsvinnsmál may also have recalled the proverb in rendering Disticha Catonis III.20 (cf. st. 104, ed. Birgitta Tuvestrand, Lundastudier i Nordisk Språkvetenskap, Ser. A, Nr 29 [1977], p. 129, e 105; Disticha III.20, cit. Ibid.):

<p>konu þinnar hlyd eie kueinstófum nie ad þui gaum gefer. <u>kalldrað kona</u> higg eg klóckvandi bidie opt oþarfra hluta.</p>	<p>Coniugis iratae noli tu verba timere, nam lacrimis struit insidias, cum femina plorat.</p>
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Cf. also Peder Låle 153, ed. A. Kock and C. af Petersens, Öst-nordiska och latinska medeltidsordspråk, STUAGNL 20 (1889-94), I. §2, 20: "Consilium rere fore frigens in muliere/ Kalth ær qwinner raadh"; and variations on the same theme in Sólarljóð, st. 10, Skjd B I, 636, "Opt verór kvalræði af konum", and Víg-lundarsaga, lv. 5, Skjd B II, 189, "Ráð eru þunglig þrúðar".

As Samuel Singer notes (Sprichwörter des Mittelalters [1944], I, 22-23), this Scandinavian proverb "sich...weit außerhalb des Nordens verbreitet hat". In addition to many ME examples (cf. esp. B.J. and H.W. Whiting, Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases from English Writings Mainly Before 1500 [1968] -- henceforth Whiting -- R66, "Cold rede is quean rede"), Singer cites a version of the maxim from the fourteenth-century Swiss Chronik des weißen Buches: "Wie wol man spricht: Frowen geben kalt rât." For similar gnomie warnings against muliebre consilium, feminine wiles, etc., see Walther 8988-9320 passim, 15347, 15366, 33439, 37949, 29213; Whiting W505, "who trusts woman is deceived".

Misogynist diatribes are not uncommon in sermons on the Decollation. Elfric's sermon for this feast day, for instance, contains a lengthy digression on the bestial ferocity of womankind borrowed from a sermon mistakenly attributed to John Chrysostom in Paul the Deacon's homiliary (PD II 72, cf. Grégoire, 103; on this borrowing see C. Smetana, Traditio 15 [1959], 193):

CH I, 486/28 - 488/11:

Nu cwyð se trahtnere, þæt nan
wilde deor, ne on fyðerfotum ne
on creopendum, nis to wiðmetene
yfelum wife... Ac se wise Salomon
cwæð, þæt selre wære to wunigenne
mid leon and dracan þonne mid
yfelan wife and oferspræcum...
Eornostlice nis nan wyrmcynn ne

PL 95, 1509B-C:

...Nulla ergo in hoc mundo
bestia similis est mulieri
malae....Salomon dicens:
Cohabitare leoní et draconi
melius est quam cum muliere
mala et litigiosa. (cf.
Ecclesiasticus 25:23, Prov.
21:9, 19, etc.)

wilddeora kyn on yfelnesse gelic
yfelum wife.

Grímr Hólmsteinsson includes a similar excursus on the perfidy of the female sex in his discussion of Salome's entertainment in Jóns saga baptista II. Grímr cites Augustine as his authority; but the passage is, in fact, based on another text in PD for the Feast of the Decollation, an expanded version of a sermon by Petrus Chrysologus, sermo 127, "De natale sancti Iohannis Baptistae" (PD II. 71; cf. Grégoire, 103):

Post. 914/22-30:

Se her ena fornu illzku konunnar,
þa er Adam tok or paradisar
fognuðum. Hon gerði himneska menn
iarðliga oc drekði allt mankyn i
helviti oc tok lifit fra ollum
heiminum fyrir epli ens uleyfða
tres. Þetta grand leiðir mennina
til eilífs allðrtila. Hana flyði
Elias spamaðr, sa er með sinni
tungu luktí ok lauk upp himininn,
oc hann for fyrir henni hriaðr oc
rekinn, oc þann manninn, sem hon
finnr reinan, gerir hon saurgan.
Hon leiddi oc i girndarbruna oc
þrongving David psalmistam, oc
drap nu Johannem baptistam....

PL 52, 551A-B, cf. the edition of
A. Olivar, CCSL XXIVB, 786, n. ad 1.63:

Hæc est mulieris antiqua malitia,
quæ Adam ejecit de paradisi deliciis
...; hæc cælestes homines fecit
esse terrenos, hæc humanum genus
misit in infernum, hæc vitam
abstulit mundo propter unius arboris
pomum. Hoc malum quod homines ducit
ad mortem, hoc malum fugit Elias
propheta...; et cujus lingua clavis
facta est cæli, tamquam reus fugit
a faci mulieris; hæc invenit verum
laborem et pressuram, quæ nunc
occidit Joannem Baptistam...

Olivar notes (780-781) that the entire passage is an interpolation found only in the versions of the sermon in PD. Like its companion-piece, PD II.72, the sermon was regularly attributed to John Chrysostom (see, e.g., PL 52, 182 note ad loc.; Dekkers, Clavis Patrum 930 and 227). Chrysologus' authorship has, however, been defended by Olivar (Los Sermones de San Pedro Crisologo [1962], 189-195).

Sermons by Chrysologus were also very often attributed to Augustine in the early middle ages (see Olivar, Ibid., "Indice de Autores", s.v. Augustín; Max Förster, "Altenglische Predigtquellen II. 6. Petrus Chrysologus und die 14. Blickling Homily", Archiv 122 [1909], 246ff.).

Grímr also makes use of the rest of Chrysologus 127 at Post. 916/17 - 917/23 (cf. PL 52, 551C - 552B; CCSL XXIV B, 786/67 - 788/95).

19. Cf. Den ældre Gulathingslov, NGL I, 99/14-16:

...En of maðr gerir leiðangr í annan stað en hann a at gera. þa er sem hann have ugorvan. Nu ferr maðr á skip annat en hann a at fara. þa gerir hann bæðe, at hann reær leiðangrinn oc gellðr vítit.

The phrase also appears as a proverb in 'Oláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta (ed. 'Olafur Halldórsson, Ed. Arn. A1, vol. 1 [1958], 94/3-8, cf. Flat. I. 84/18-23), where Hákon Sigurðsson seeks to persuade King Haraldr Gormsson that their plot to help Gull-Haraldr win the kingdom of Norway may work to their mutual disadvantage:

...En er Gullharalldr var brott farinn, þa kom Hakon j(arl) til Haralldr konungs ok s(agði) sva. Nu ueít ek eigi nema ver roím leiðfina. ok gialldim leiþar vítit. Nu man Gullharalldr drepa Haralld grafellð. síþan man hann taka konung dom iNoregi. ætlar þu þer hann þa tryggan er þu fær honum sva mikinn styrk...

(Cf. Heimskringla I, ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson, ÍF 26 [1941], I. 237/19-25.)

The sources of the sermon in Sthom. in which the proverb appears (Sthom. 111/21 - 121/25) have not yet been investigated (see van Arkel, 15; Kirby, Biblical Quotation II, 57). The homily also contains some other "forensic" turns of phrase. Cf., e.g., Sthom. 115/17-18, "...gub dømmer etke vápa verc...naþungar verc.

helldr siálfs verc... (see Konrad Maurer, Vorlesungen über altnordische Rechtsgeschichte (1907-10), V, 258f., 261-264; Fritzner, Hertzberg, s.v. váðaverk); 118/2, "...bíþeð fyr averca monnom vþrom" = Matt. 5:44, "orate pro persequentibus et calumniantibus vos"; cf. Kirby, Biblical Quotation I. 147-8 (see, e.g., Grágás, ed. Vilhjálmur Finsen [1852-70], I. 146/15; Hertzberg, s.v. áverki). Cf. too Sthom. 137/2-3 ("Die annunciationis beate Marie virginis..."; source unknown): "...Öll cristne spell þar es baNsakar ero. oc aller lagalester þar es sakar ápile. á vígt umb..." (see Fritzner s.vv. lagalöstr, sakaraðili).

20. This is the only example of the phrase cited in Hugo Gering's list of items omitted from Finnur Jónsson's collection of proverbs (see ANF 32 [1916], 24, s.v. lostverk). Bjarni Vilhjálmsson and 'Oskar Halldórsson, Íslenzkir málshættir (2nd ed., 1979), 214, s.v. Lostverk, cite only Sthom. and examples from late proverb-collections: Landsbókasafn ms. 1096 8vo ("Adagia", íslenzkt málsháttasafn með latinskum þýðingum...), "Létt falla lostverkin"; Málsháttasöfn Hallgríms Schevings. Boðsrit Bessastaðaskóla (1843, 1847), "Öll falla lostverk létt".
21. This Scandinavian proverb has many foreign analogues. Cf. Walther 777, "Ales invalidis timida petit aera pennis"; 1167, "Ante volare cave, quam procrescant tibi penne!"; 13447, "Lapsum certe colat hic, qui pennis sine volat"; 17303, "Non bene pennatus debet differre volatus" ; 18718a, "Non volat ad celum, qui volucrum caret alis"; 29675, "Sine pennis volare haud facile est"; 31056, "Tantum possibilia presumas! volare/ Absque pennis minime vales attemperare"; J. Morawski, Proverbes Français antérieurs au XVe siècle (1925), 1435: "Oiseaux ne puet voler senz eles"; Whiting W 363, "To fly without wings (feathers)". See further below, pp. 470, 476-477.

Interestingly, Gregory the Great makes use of a similar image in his Regula Pastoralis in reproaching those who presume to preach without adequate qualifications (III. 25, "Quomodo admonendi qui officium prædicationis nimia humilitate detrectant, et qui præcipiti festinatione occupant", PL 77, 98A):

...At contra admonendi sunt quos a prædicationis officio vel imperfectio, vel ætas prohibet, et tamen præcipitatio impellit, ne dum tanti sibi onus officii præcipitatione arrogant, viam sibi subsequentis ameliorationis abscidant; et cum arripiunt intempestive quod non valent, perdant etiam quod implere quandoque tempestive potuissent... Admonendi sunt ut considerent quod pulli avium si ante pennarum perfectionem volare appetant, unde ire in alta cupiunt, inde in ima merguntur.

22. Cf. ÍF 7 (2nd ed., 1959), 192/1-13:

...Gísli eggjaði fast fylgðarmenn sína. Grettir sá nú at hann var eigi slíkr fullhugi, sem hann lézk, því at hann stóð jafnan á baki mönnum sínum... Grettir mælti þá: "Þat sér lítt á, at þu hefir víða vel fram gangit, ok illa skilsk þú við þína féлага." Gísli svarar: "Sa er eldrinn heitastr, er á sjálfum liggr, ok er illt at fásk við heljarmanninn." Skiptusk þeir þá fám höggum við, áðr en Gísli kastaði vápnum ok hefir á rás undan út með fjallinu.

23. See Studia Islandica 39 (1981), 79-80. Hermann maintains that the author of Grettis saga appropriated the proverb from the Sthom. Job-narrative (or a text like it) as part of a pattern of reminiscences from the Book of Job which transform Grettir into a paragon of patient suffering (cf. 88-90). He does not, however, regard the proverb in Sthom. as a substitute for Satan's words Pellem pro pelle at Job 2:2 (79: "...setningin á sér enga oró-rétta fyrirmind í Jóbsbók sjálfri, heldur er henni bætt við til skýringar og áherzlu").

24. Cf. the digression on Job in the second All Saints' Day homily in Sthom., 154/12-17:

...Nu scaut ec af þui dómisogo þessi i þetti [sic] mál.
at þat es styrking mikil þeim monnom er fvr vanheílso
verða eða manna missi. eða fiárscaða. nu er slíct hreín-
sonar eldr her iNan heims. oc breNer þat synþer af monnom
þeim er sva verða vip sem iob.

25. See Vrátný, ANF 32 (1916), 47; cf. s.a., "Noch einiges zu den altisländischen Sprichwörtern", ANF 33 (1917), 61.

- 26 The phrase is perhaps also recalled in a commentary on the Lord's Prayer in Nhom. No direct Latin source has yet been found for this entry, but Erik Gunnes (183) notes that the text runs parallel to Ælfric's sermon "De Dominica Oratione" (CH I. 260-73). Cf.:

Nhom. 157/8-12:

Ælfric, CH I. 268/11-14:

Fyrir því ma diofull-enn
costa hvers mannc hvárt hann
mæge hvarfa oss fra guós trv
eða æigi. eða hvert vér unnum
guði sva væl í hug varom sem
vér mælom í orðom varom. eða
ver hafem aðra flærð undir.

Deofol mot ælces mannes afandigan,
hwæðer he aht sy, oððe naht; hwæðer
he God mid inweardlicre heortan
lufige, oððe he mid hiuwunge fare.

27. ANF 32 (1916), 47.

28. ed. Gustav Neckel, Die Lieder des Codex Regius nebst verwandten Denkmälern, 4th ed., rev. Hans Kuhn (1962), 24, 31. All further citations from the Poetic Edda are from this edition unless otherwise specified.

29. See von See, Die Gestalt der Havámál (1972), 33; "Disticha Catonis und Hávamál", Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur 94 (1972), 8-9. Samuel Singer (op. cit. I. 6ff.), like von See, argues that many of the proverbial phrases in the poem

should be seen against the background of a Latin school-tradition, but does not discuss the collocation at mæla fagrt ok hyggja flátt.

30. Hjalmar Falk (Sólarljóð, NVAOS [1914], II. Hist.-Fil. Kl., No. 7, 11) notes that the "avgjort ukristelig" sentiment of stanza 20 is reminiscent of Hávamál 45 and Hugsvinnsmál 41, and suggests, "enten var forfatteren av Solsangen ikke sterkere befæstet i sin kristendom, end at det raad som i de gamle leveregler stadig blev git mot falske venner: at gjengjelde like med like, er glidd med ind i verset; eller ogsaa er linjen forvansket av en avskriver hvem den form av sentensen foresvævet". He suggests that line four of stanza 19 should be changed (after the pattern of line three) to góðu þó heiti ("selv om de gir gode løfter"). This emendation is adopted by B.M. 'Olsen in his edition of the poem (Safn til Sögu Islands V, Nr. 1 [1915], 10, cf. 34, n. ad loc.)

With the mæla fagrt formula it is also interesting to compare the use of the phrase at heita föggu in stanzas by Egill Skallagrímsson and Þjóðólfr Arnórsson:

Egill Skallagrímsson, lv. 43 (Skjð B I, 52):

...

mér brásk minnar systur
mogr, hétumk þá föggu,
máttit þols of bindask
Blundr, ek slíkt of undrumk

Þjóðólfr Arnórsson, Magnúsflokkur, st. 5 (Skjð B I, 333):

Sjalfr bar austr við Elfi
Ulfs mogr ok hét föggu
(þar réð Sveinn at sverja)
sínar hendr at skríni;
réð 'Aleifs sonr eiðum,
átt hafa þeira sáttir
skemra aldr an skyldi,
Skónunga gramr, hönúm.

31. Einar 'Olafur Sveinsson remarks on Brandr's love of proverbs in his essay, "Alexandreis et le Saga d'Alexandre", Rencontres et courants littéraires franco-scandinaves, Bibliothèque Nordique 4 (Paris, 1972), 23:

...Il y a un certain nombre de proverbes islandais et fréquemment sans que le texte y fasse penser. Ils sont souvent allitérés. Il y a beaucoup d'expressions convenues, archaïques et spécifiquement islandaises, allitérées ou non. Cela confère au style un air national populaire...

32. W.M. Lindsay, ed., Plauti Comoediae (1904-05), vol. 2, Truculentus, 178-80. See A. Otto, Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten der Römer (1840), 218, s.v. mel 4 (§ 1084); R. Häussler, ed., Nachträge zu A. Otto Sprichwörter...der Römer (1968), 6 (C), 60, 110, 279. Cf., e.g., Ovid, Amores (ed. E.J. Kenney [1961]) I. 8, 103-104:

lingua iuuet mentemque tegat: blandire noceque;
impia sub dulci melle uenena latent.

33. Cf. Walther 7900a, 11843a, 14575, 14576, 14583, 14585, 24239; Joseph Klapper, Die Sprichwörter der Freidankpredigten, Wort und Brauch, Hft. 16 (1927), 71, § 327 and n. (Ferunt mel in ore, fel in corde: "De dolosis hominibus solet dici...secundum illud: Dulcia verba serit, qui falsum dicere querit..."); Whiting H 433 "Honey and Gall", S 871 "Sugar and gall", T 383 "Tongue and Heart"; B.J. Whiting, "Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases from Scottish Writings before 1600", MS 11 (1949), 187 s.v. Heart (7), 190 s.v. Honey (2); MS 13 (1951), 101 s.v. Mouth (1), "His mouth is honey, but his hairt is gall"; Tilley T391, "A honey tongue a heart of gall"; A.S. Vedel's Ordsprogssamling (Gl. kgl. Samling nr. 3603, 8vo [c. 1614]), cit. B. Holbæk og I. Kjær, Ordsprog i Danmark (2nd ed., 1972), 119, no. 1344, "Udi sød tale ligger falskhed i dvale"; Einar

Seim, Ordtøkje og Herme I. Norsk Folkeminnelag 84 (1960), 92, s.v. fals "I søt tale ligg fals i dvale"; 191, s.v. honning, "Å ha honning i munnen, men edik i grunnen".

See also Walther 20398b, "Os aliud fatur, mala autem mens aliud meditatur" (the sentiment is at least as old as Homer; cf. Achilles' words at Iliad 9, 312-13, trans. Richmond Lattimore [1962], "For as I detest the doorways of Death, I detest that man who/ hides one thing in the depths of his heart, and speaks forth another" -- see also Whiting S 583, "To speak other. than one thinks"); Walther 26832, 30713, "Retro rodentes et coram blanda loquentes/ Sunt detractores inimicis deteriores"; 24746, "Qui simulat pacem, certius ense ferit"; 27155, "Sepe latet bellum grato sub nomine pacis".

34. Cf. Whiting F 44, "To be false and speak fair"; F50, "To feign falsehood under fair words"; M 755, "Mouth and heart do not agree"; S 580, "To speak fair before but not behind"; S 589, "To be a fair speaker and false thereunder"; S 618, "Under fair speech one may wry treason"; W 581, "Fair words (speech) but no love"; W 585, "Fair words without, hate within"; B.J. Whiting, MS 13 (1951), 129, s.v. Speech (2), "The fairer speech, the falser hairtis", 143, s.v. Tongue (3), "Ane silkin toung, ane hart of crueltie"; H.E. Rollins, An Analytical Index to the Ballad-Entries, 1557-1709, in the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, Studies in Philology 21 (1924), 2466, "A smooth toung and a false heart"; Tilley, A 112, "All are not friends that speak us fair", S 727, "He that speaks me fair and loves me not, I'll speak him fair and trust him not". The following list of examples from Old and Middle English texts is, needless to say, far from exhaustive. Most of the citations are taken from Whiting; to these I have added a few

others. In most of the examples the phrase does not alliterate:

Richard Morris, ed., Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries: First Series, E.E.T.S., O.S. 29 & 34 (1868), "In Die Dominica", 143/21-27:

Et tunc iudicabit iudicia nouissima. et reddet unicuique iuxta opera sua. þenne wille god deme his lest dom. and wile gelden eche men his mede efter his werke. þe sunfulle. Men. þet spushad brekeð. þa þet mei lutel to wreche. þe þoues. þe þet spekeð faire bi-foren and false bi-hinden. þe niðfulle. þe prude, þe fordrunkene, etc.

The Proverbs of Alfred, ed. O. Arngart, Skrifter Utgivna av Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund XXXII: II (1955)

13 (J), 95/211-214:

Serewe if þu hauest.
and þe erewe hit wot.
by-fore he þe menep.
by-hynde he þe telep.

19 (18-J), 107/316-22:

Dus queþ Alured.
Monymon wenep
þat he weny ne þarf.
Freond þat he habbe.
þar me him vayre bi-hat.
Seyþ him vayre bi-vore.
and frakele bi-hynde.

Towneley Plays, ed. G. England and A.W. Pollard, E.E.T.S., E.S. 71 (1897), XXX, "The Judgement", 23. 154-160:

secundus demon. sir, so mekill ill will
that thai wold synke
Thare foes in a fyere still
bot not all that I thynke
dar I say,
Bot before hym he prase hym,
behynde he mys-sase hym,
Thus dowbill he mase hym,
thus do thai today.

The Castle of Perseverance, sc. vi, 657-667, in M. Eccles, ed., The Macro Plays, E.E.T.S., O.S. 262 (1969):

DETRACCIO. ...For I am known fer and nere,
I am the Werldys messengere,
My name is Backbytere.

Wyth euery wyth I walke and wende
And euery man now louyth me wele.

Wyth lowde lesyngys vndyr lende
To dethys dynt I dresse and dele.

To speke fayre befor and fowle behynde
Amongys men at mete and mele
Trewly, lordys, þis is my kynde.

Chaucer, The Parson's Tale, 643, in F.N. Robinson, ed., The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer (1957), 248:

Now comth the synne of double tonge; swiche as speken
faire byforn folk, and wikkidly bihynde; or elles they
maken semblant as though they speke of good entencioun,
or elles in game and play, and yet they speke of wikked
entente.

Hoccleve, "The Letter of Cupid to Lovers, His Subjects", st.
11, in F.J. Furnivall, ed., Hoccleve's Works: I. The Minor
Poems, E.E.T.S., E.S. 61 (1892), 75/71-75:

[Vn] To his name yet was yt no reprefe,
for, al for vertu was [it] that she wroght;
but he that brewed hath al this myschefe
that spake so faire and falsly inward thoght,
his be the sclaundre as yt be reson oght.

Jacob's Well, ed. A. Brandeis, E.E.T.S., O.S. 115 (1900),
86/33 - 87/8:

An enuyous man is lykened to an hound. an hound is wo þat
ony man goth besyden him in þe waye, þof þe man do hym non
harme, & þerfore he berkyth on hym. so þe enuyous man is wo
of an-oþer man þat stondyth, or syttyth, by him, or goth
besyden him in þe waye, þof þe oþer man do hym non harm,
zet he wyl berkyn on hym bacbytyng, & lesynges, & dyscorde.
As sum hownd, befor a man, fawnyth hym wyth his tayl, &
behynde him byteth hym; So þe enuyous man spekyth sum-tyme
fayre befor an-oþere, & bakbyteth hym behynde.

Lydgate, "Say the Best and Never Repent", st. 14, 100-107,
in H.N. MacCracken, ed., The Minor Poems of John Lydgate,
Part II, E.E.T.S., O.S. 192 (1934):

There is som tong can mater ffynd,
Afore folk to fflatyr and glose,
and cursidly can say behynd,
And of fals slaunder his sak vnclose,
Resemblyng and breydyng on a rose,
Outward fayre, and thorn in his entent,
Wherefore late ech man hym dispose
To sey wele, and he shal neuer repent.

Malory, "The Book of Sir Tristram de Lyones", Bk X, in E.
Vinaver, ed., The Works of Sir Thomas Malory (2nd ed., 1967),
II, 594/32 - 595/2:

"Well", seyde kynge Arthure, "ye ought to do me servyse,
omayge and feauté, and never wolde ye do me none, but
ever ye have bene ayenste me, and a dystroyer of my knyghtes.
Now, how woll ye acquyte you?"

"Sir", seyde kynge Marke, "ryght as youre lordshyp woll
requyre me, unto my power I woll make a large amendys."
For he was a fayre speker, and false thereundir.

"The cyte is bond that shuld be fre", in May D. Harris, ed.,
The Coventry Leet Book, E.E.T.S., O.S. 135 (1908), 578/11-12:

We may speke faire & bid you good morowe,
But luff with our hertes shall ye haue non.

"A Heartless Mistress", in Rossell Hope Robbins, Secular Lyrics
of the XIVth and XVth Centuries (1952), 140/21-24:

With body and connyng I wold yow please
fful fayre, and I wyst how to begyn;
But your fayre glose doth me desease:
Ye spek fayre ovtward and feyneth withyn.

Skelton, "Garlande of Laurell", in A. Dyce, ed., The Poetical
Works of John Skelton, vol. I (1843), 386/619-620:

Fals flaterers that fawne thé, and kurris of kynde
That speke fayre before thé and shrewdly behynde.

Ibid., I, 392/759:

For when he spekyth fayrest, then thynketh he moost yll.

35. A.S.P.R. II (1932), 59-60.
36. Ibid., xxxix; cf. M. Förster, "Der Vercelli Codex CXVII", Studien zur englischen Philologie L (1913), 79-80.
37. None of the Old English Psalter-glosses I have checked make use of the fæger word/ facn collocation. The gloss found in the Junius Psalter (ed. Eduard Brenner, Anglistische Forschungen 23 [1908], 31) is typical: "...mid þissum þa ðe sprecað sibbe mid ðone nihstan his yfel soðlice sint on heortum hira" (cf. Arundel Psalter, ed. G. Oess, Anglistische Forschungen 30 [1910], 60; Cambridge Psalter, ed. K. Wildhagen, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa 7 [1910, rpt. 1964], 59; Eadwine's Canterbury Psalter, ed. F. Harsley, E.E.T.S., O.S. 92 [1889, rpt. 1973], 42; Lambeth Psalter, ed. U. Lindelöf, Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae 35 [1909], 41; Regius Psalter, ed. F. Roeder, Studien zur englischen Philologie 18 [1904], 46; Salisbury Psalter, ed. C. and K. Sisam, E.E.T.S. 242 [1959], 110; Vespasian Psalter, ed. S.M. Kuhn [1965], 23; Vitellius Psalter, ed. J.L. Rosier, Cornell Studies in English 42 [1962], 61). The phraseology of the prose translation of Psalm 27 in the Paris Psalter is, however, interestingly similar to lines 5-6 of "Homiletic Fragment I" (Liber Psalmorum: The West-Saxon Psalms, ed. J.W. Bright and R.L. Ramsay [1907], 57-58): "Ne me ne fordo mid þam þe luflice sprecað to heora nyhstum, and habbað þeah facn on heora heortan." Facen is regularly found for dolus, facenlic for dolosus, -a, -um in the Old English glosses (see, e.g., renderings of Ps. 49:19, "...lingua tua concinnabat dolos", in the Cambridge Psalter, 123, "tunge þin hleoðrode facyn"; Eadwine's Canterbury Psalter, 86, "tunge þin sang vel leoðrade facen vel sær"; Lambeth Psalter, 81, "gealchatte vel

gereonode facnu; Paris Psalter [prose section -- ed. Bright and Ramsay] 120, "ontynde facn"; Salisbury Psalter, 146, "sang facn"; Vespasian Psalter, 47, "hleóórade facen"; Vitellius Psalter, 121, "sang facn"; cf. the OWN gloss in the Vienna Psalter, ed. H. Uecker, Ed. Arn. B 27 [1980], 65, "tunga þín samlikadí prettum"; and renderings of Ps. 119:2, "...a lingua dolosa" in the Bosworth Psalter, ed. U. Lindelöf, Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsingfors 5 [1909], 175, "from tungan facenfulre"; Cambridge Psalter 322, "fram tungan fæcne"; Salisbury Psalter 257, "facenfulre tungan"; Vespasian Psalter 127, "tungan fæcenre"; Vitellius Psalter 316, "tungan facenfulre"; cf. Eadwine's Canterbury Psalter 217, "tungan inwidre"; Paris Psalter [verse section], A.S.P.R. 5 [1932], p. 118, "...from þære tungan þe teosu wylle").

Lines 28 to 30 of "Homiletic Fragment I" are reminiscent of proverbs of the type mel in ore fel in corde mentioned above. Neil D. Isaacs (Structural Principles in Old English Poetry [1968], ch. 6, "...The Old English Taste of Honey", 99-106) suggests that lines 22b-23 "seem to echo a passage from Boethius" (cf. Meters 18, 5-11; Consolatio Philosophiae, ed. H.F. Stewart and E.K. Rand 1946, III. metr. vii):

Hwæt, sio wilde beo, þeah wis sie,	Habet hoc uoluptas omnis,
anunga sceal eall forweorðan	Stimulis agit fruentes
gif hio yrringa awuht stingeð.	Apiumque per uolantum
Swa sceal sawla gehwilc siððan losian,	Vbi grata mella fudit,
gif se lichoma forlegen weorðeð	Fugit et nimis tenaci
unrihthæmede, bute him ær cume	Ferit ista corda morsu.
hreow to heortan, ær he hionan wende.	

Thomas D. Hill, however ("The Hypocritical Bee", Notes and Queries 213 [1968], 123), has pointed out that a commonplace passage found in Gregory's ninth homily on Ezekiel (and, in almost the same wording, in the Liber formularum spiritualis intelligentiae of Eucherius of Lyons) offers a closer analogue for these lines (cf. CCSL 142,

135/438-444 = PL 76, 879D - 880A; PL 50, 751A):

Unde etiam per Psalmistam dicitur: Circumdederunt me sicut apes, et exarserunt sicut ignis in spinis [Ps. 117:12].
Apes enim in ore mel habent, in aculeo caudae uulnus. Et omnes qui lingua blandiuntur, sed latenter ex malitia feriunt, apes sunt, quia loquendo dulcedinem mellis proponunt, sed occulte feriendo uulnus inferunt.

38. See van Arkel, 13; Kirby, Biblical Quotation II. 54-55. Bede's homily was included in PD as the third sermon for the Feast of the Circumcision (PD I. 40; see Grégoire, 83).

39. This text is based partly on Bede's homily, partly, perhaps, on a homily for the same feast day by Ps. Haymo of Halberstadt (recte Auxerre, Hom. XIV, "De Circumcisione Domini", PL 118, 90-107; see van Arkel, 16; Gunnes, 167). Indrebø discusses the relationship between the texts in Nhom. and Sthom. in his introduction to Nhom., *43.

40. Cf. Nhom. 55/21-30; Sthom. 185/11-20. Haymo also devotes a section of this homily to a discussion of the "circumcision of the senses". In his treatment of the "circumcision of the tongue" he cites Ps. 33:14, rather than Ps. 27:3 (PL 118, 96B-C):

Circumcidenda est lingua a maledictionibus, perjuriis, falsitatibus, murmurationibus, et a consuetudine otiosi sermonis... Et Psalmista nos admonet dicens Prohibe linguam tuam a malo, et labia tua ne loquantur dolum.

41. Unfortunately, the corresponding section of the Old Norwegian translation of the Benedictine Rule, a fragment of which is preserved in NRA 81A (ed. E. Walter, "Die fragmente zweier Klosterregeln für Benediktenermönche in altnorwegischer Übersetzung", Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache 82 [1960], 83ff.) has not survived.

42. See J. Turville-Petre, "Sources of the Vernacular Homily in England, Norway and Iceland", ANF 75 (1960), 170; L. Traube, "Die Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti", 2nd ed. by H. Plenkers, Abhandlungen der kgl. bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: philosoph-philol. und hist. Klasse, XXV 2. Abh. (1910), 102.
43. op. cit., 88-89.
44. Cf. the translation of the passage in the OE version of the Rule (ed. A. Schröer, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa 2 [2. Aufl. 1964], 17/6-10):
- ...facn ne sceal mon on heortan gehabban; lease sibbe ne sceal mon syllan; soþe lufe ne sceal mon forlætan. Swerian ne sceal mon, þylæs mon forswerige; soðfastnesse of heortan and of muðe mon sceal simle forðbringen...
45. Delatte, Commentaire sur le Règle de Saint Benoît (1913), 80.
46. Cf., e.g., Margaret Deanesly, The Lollard Bible and Other Medieval Biblical Versions (1920), 26, 38-39, 62 (with reference to the memorization of large tracts of Scripture by the Waldensians); N.J. Chaytor, From Script to Print (1945, rpt. 1966), 115ff.; M.T. Clanchy, From Memory to Written Record (1979); J. Coleman, English Literature in History 1350-1400 (1981), 157ff., 172ff.
47. Leclercq, The Love of Learning and the Desire for God, trans. C. Misrahi (2nd ed., 1974; rpt. 1977), 93-94. The Psalter was especially familiar, as Geoffrey Shepherd observes ("English Versions of the Scriptures before Wyclif", in G.W.M. Lampe, ed., The Cambridge History of the Bible II [1969], 370):
- ...The Psalms had, of course, their regular weekly place in the monastic offices. But many holy men recited the Psalter daily and knew it by heart and used it as a devotional manual.

Godric, the recluse of Finchale, acquired a finger permanently curved through constantly holding his psalm-book...

On the memorization of the Psalter and its use as a school primer in the early middle ages see P. Riché, Education and Culture in the Barbarian West (1976), 463-466.

According to the author of Laxdæla saga, Guðrún 'Osvífrsdóttir was the first woman in Iceland to learn the Psalter by heart (ÍF 5 [1934], 223/23-24, "Hon nam fyrst kvenna saltara á Íslandi" -- the story implies, at least, that she was not the last to do so); and the author of Hungrvaka records that Bishop Þorlákr Rúnólfsson of Skálholt († 1133) "...söng hvern dag þriðjung af psaltara seint ok skynsamliga" (k. 6, ed. Jón Helgason[1938], 96/3-4). Even the well-known reference in Jóns saga helga B to Gísli Finnsson's humble practice of preaching from an open book rather than from memory (Bisk. I, 236/3-10, "...taldi hann eigi utanbókar marga luti, eör treysti mjök á sitt minni...at þeir sæi þat, at hann tæki sínar kenningar af helgum bókum ok merkiligum, en eigi af einu saman brjóstmegni ok hugvíti") perhaps suggests that preachers who habitually relied on their own brjóstmegn ok hugvit when composing sermons were not unusual.

48. Leclercq, op. cit., 91.

49. "The Literate Anglo-Saxon -- On Sources and Disseminations", Proceedings of the British Academy 58 (1972), 86, cf. 92-93. See further, s.a., "Bundles for Burning -- a theme in two of Ælfric's Catholic Homilies -- with other sources", Anglia 81 (1963), 335-46; "More sources for two of Ælfric's Catholic Homilies", Anglia 86 (1968), 59-78; "Ælfric - Mainly on Memory and Creative Method in Two Catholic Homilies", Studia Neophilologica 41 (1969), 135-55; "Source and Analysis of Some Ælfrician Passages", NM 72 (1971), 446-53.

50. Gunnes, 171.
51. Cf., e.g., Appendix Augustini, sermo 150, "De Passione Domini", PL 39, 2037A; sermo 151, 2038D; Maximi Episcopi Taurinensis... Sermones, ed. A. Mutzenbecher, CCSL 23 (1962), sermo LXXIV, 310/36-39; Ps. Maximus, sermo 36, "De eadem Paschatis solemnitate VIII", PL 57, 606C - 607B. An admonitory catalogue vaguely similar to that in the OWN homily concludes Caesarius of Arles, sermo 204, "De Pascha Domini", CCSL 104, 821 [778/3ff.] = Ps. Augustine 168, PL 39, 2071A-B: "Admoneant...ut...a maledicto vel a periurio linguam refrenent...pacem et ipsi teneant [etc.]".
52. AM 435 12mo, 24r; cf. Codex Lindesianus, Icelandic ms. no. 1 in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, 46r, 1-6.
53. This passage is reproduced in the Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae, ed. Lilli Gjerløw, Libri Liturgici Provinciae Nidrosiensis Medii Aevi, vol. 2 (1968), "Feria V in Cena Domini", 225/20-22.
54. Cf. Ibid., 161,g, 315/51 - 316/54:
 ...Quare ad missam mortuorum pax non datur, triplex assignatur ratio. Prima est, quoniam hoc officium, ut dictum est, triduanum Christi sepulturam significat, ubi pax non datur propter osculum Iude...
55. See also H.A.P. Schmidt, Hebdomada Sancta (1956-57), II. 741:
 ...In traditione romana salutatio Dominus vobiscum feria V in Cena Domini simpliciter omittenda est ubique. Ratio cur sic agendum est, nullibi in documentis indicata est, sed videtur esse symbolica: propter sacrilegam salutationem Iudae omittimus hanc formulam.
- Schmidt suggests (742-43) that the kiss of peace may originally have been omitted because the Pax Domini was preceded by the ceremony of the blessing of the chrism-vessel; but he admits that latterly the chief motivation for the practice was undoubtedly symbolic.

56. It is also interesting to note that item 25 of the Instrumenta bonorum operum is associated with the kiss of peace in most medieval commentaries on the Benedictine Rule. Cf.:

Smaragdus of St Mihiel, Expositio in Regulam S. Benedicti, ed. A. Spannagel, Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum VIII (1974), 106/27 - 107/8 (cf. PL 102, 764A-C):

Pacem falsam non dare [Spannagel, ad. loc., compares Jer. 9:7 [sic]; Ps. 27:3; Migne's exemplar, Hrabani Mauri...operum Quotquot reperiri potuerunt (Köln, 1626), compares Ps. 27, I Pet. 3] ...Negare enim vel maligno animo celare quod verum est, falsitas est, sicut Iudas qui signum pacis in dolum convertit quia et falsus confessor fuerat, et falsam pacem in ecclesia figurabat...Et passioni iam proximus hoc nobis mandatum commendavit [dominus] dicens "Pacem meam do vobis, pacem meam commendo vobis"; et addidit "Non sicut mundus dat pacem do vobis", id est non dolosam, non falsam sicut Iudas et eius sequaces donant, quam et hic nobis beatus Benedictus invicem dare vetat; sed veram pacem ascendens in caelum tenendam dedit, et in hereditatem sempiternam habendam reliquit...

commentary attributed to Paul the Deacon, printed in Florilegium Casinense, Bibliotheca Casinensis, IV (1880), 49:

...Ille enim pacem falsam dat: qui non diligit osculari.

Expositio-Regulae ab Hildemaro Tradita, ed. R. Mittermüller (1880), 154:

...Ille enim pacem falsam dat quem [var. qui] non diligens osculatur.

A.M. Caplet, ed., Bernardi I Abbatis Casinensis in Regulam S. Benedicti Expositio... (1894), 94:

...falsa pax fratri datur, quando quis eum quem non diligit, osculatur. falsa pax datur quando quis fratrem odit. et eum se diligere mentitur set et falsa pax datur quando quis alicui occulte detraxit. et ei postmodum adulatur...

Gerhoh of Reichersberg († 1169) similarly associates Ps. 27:3 with the false kiss of peace in his Psalm Commentary (PL 193, 1227C-D):

...Nonne isti operantur iniquitatem, qui loquuntur pacem cum proximo suo, mala autem in cordibus eorum, quando per osculum, quod est pacis signum, adimplent homicidium...

Cf. also Ps. Augustine, Sermo Caillau-Saint-Yves 1.68, "De falso amico", PLS 2, 1018A-B:

...Verba pacis sonat os, et cor ejus dolum occultat.

De talibus autem dicit Propheta in Psalmo: Qui loquitur pacem cum proximo suo, mala autem sunt in cordibus eorum. Dum pacem loquitur, percutit; et dum blanditur, interficit, quia in corde tenet malitiam.

...Nam et Judas, mercator sacri vulneris, Dominum Jesum dum salutatur vendidit, dum osculatur tradidit.

The phrase Judas kiss (cf. French baiser de Judas, German Judaskuss, Danish Judaskys, etc.) is proverbial in almost all Christian countries for "a hypocritical expression of affection". See W.D. Hand, "A Dictionary of Words and Idioms Associated with Judas Iscariot", University of California Publications in Modern Philology 24, no. 3 [1942], 333-35, for many literary examples; cf. Whiting J 68, "A Judas kiss". Proverbs of the "fair words/ false intent" type also occasionally incorporate a reference to Judas' betrayal: cf., e.g., Walther 6430, "Dum bonum faris, in corde malum meditaris, /Oscula, que Judas Domino dedit, hec mihi tu das", 20451, 23460, 28637; Whiting P 153, "Many a one speaks of Peter and John and thinks Judas in his heart" (Gower, Confessio Amantis I. 655-7, E.E.T.S., E.S. 81 [1900-1901, rpt. 1979], I. 53-54).

57. Most commentators on Matt. 26:49-50 and Luke 22:47-48 were quick to stress that Christ's acceptance of Judas' kiss should not itself be taken as a hypocritical act (see Glossa Ordinaria, PL 114, 341B; cf. Ibid., 171A; Ps. Bede, PL 92, 116D; Rabanus Maurus, PL 107, 1117B; Haymo of Auxerre PL 118, 404B):

Suscepit Dominus osculum, non quod simulare nos doceat, sed ut nec proditorem refugere videretur, et plus afficeret proditorem, cui amoris officia non negaret. Unde dicitur: Cum his qui oderunt pacem erant pacificus [Ps. 119:2].

Candidus' suggestion that Judas used the osculum pacis as the sign of betrayal "quia nox erat" can be compared with the widespread notion that Judas marked Christ with a kiss for fear that he might elude his captors by magically changing his appearance. Haymo of Auxerre, for instance, explains (PL 118, 367D):

Infelix Judas æstimans Dominum signa magicis artibus patrasse, recolens eum transfiguratum fuisse in monte coram tribus discipulis, æstimans etiam eum in hora passionis suæ similitudinem in aliam mutare, ideo dat signum persecutoribus suis, ut quemcunque oscularetur, ipsum comprehenderet, æstimans Dominum persecutores suos eludare, et in aliam formam se transfigurare.

(Cf. Ps. Bede, PL 92, 116D; Rabanus, PL 107, 1117A; Glossa Ordinaria, PL 114, 170D; anonymous Irish Matthew commentary, PL 120, 914D-915C; Comestor, Historia Scholastica, PL 198, 1622C-D; Cornelius a Lapide, Commentarii in Scripturam Sacram, VIII (1864), 497, § 49.) Still more remarkable is Johannes Beleth's suggestion that Judas' greeting was meant to help Christ's enemies distinguish him from his brother James (CC Cont. Med. XLIA, 171/38 - 172/40): "...Ideo hec signa dedit Iudas illis, qui Christum ceperunt, ne Iacobum caperent pro illo, quia consimilis erat illi."

58. See, e.g., Herbert Thurston, Lent and Holy Week (1904), 283-293. Ethel L. Urlin (Festivals, Holy Days and Saints' Days [1915], 62) notes that "in some parts of England [Maundy Thursday] is called "Kiss Thursday", from the giving of the kiss by Judas" (cit. W.D. Hand, "A Dictionary of Words and Idioms associated with Judas Iscariot", University of California Publications in Modern Philology 24 [1942], 334).

59. Cf., e.g., Nidaros Missal (Missale secundum usum ecclesie Nidrosiensis [1519, rpt. 1959]) d.xviii.r; Sarum Missal (ed. F.H. Dickinson, Missale ad usum insignis...ecclesiae Sarum [1861-63, rpt. 1969]), 305-306; York Missal (ed. W.G. Henderson, Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Eboracensis, Surtees Society, 59-60 [1874]), I. 98-99. Ps. 139 also serves as the second Tract for the Good Friday Office. See Nidaros Missal, d.xix.r; Sarum Missal, 318; York Missal, 102; Missale Romanum (1872), 157.
60. Cf. Lilli Gjerløw, ed., Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae, 29ff.
61. cited here from the Nidaros Breviary (Breviarium...secundum vsum insignis metropolitane ecclesie Nidrosiensis [1519, rpt. 1964]), M.ii,v; cf. Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae, ed. cit., 224/4; York Breviary (ed. S.W. Lawley, Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Eboracensis, Surtees Society 71, 75 [1880-83]) I, 381; Sarum Breviary (ed. F. Procter and C. Wordsworth, Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarum [1879-86, rpt. 1970]), I, Kalendarium et Temporale, dcclxxix. In the night office for Maundy Thursday, cf. also the responsories, "Homo pacis meae. Ampliavit adversum me supplantationem" (assigned to the first nocturn in the Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae, 223/16, and the Nidaros Breviary, L.viii.v; to the third nocturn in the Sarum Breviary, I. dcclxxix, and the York Breviary, I. 380; to Lauds in the Roman Breviaries, both Praetridentine and Tridentine) and "Judas mercator pessimus osculo petiit dominum..." (for the second nocturn -- Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae, 223/28; Nidaros Breviary, M.i.v; Sarum Breviary, I. dcclxxviii).

Judas' kiss is remembered in the responsory for the third nocturn on Good Friday:

Barrabas latro dimittitur: et innocens christus
occiditur: nam et iudas doctus scelèris qui per
pacem didicit facere bellum. Osculando tradidit
dominum iesum christum.

(Nidaros Breviary M. iv., r; cf. Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae 227/8; Sarum Breviary I. dccxci; York Breviary I. 391-392), and in the responsory, "Amicus meus osculi me tradidit signo..." (Matt. 26:48) assigned to the night office of Wednesday in Holy Week in the Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae (222/11) and the Nidaros Breviary (L.vii.v; now used as the fourth responsory for Maundy Thursday -- see Breviary Romanum [1950], Pars Verna, 521). Allusions to the sin of hypocrisy and to "false peace" are also found elsewhere in the Passiontide Liturgy. Ps. 42:1, for instance, "Judica me Deus, et discerne causam meam...ab homine iniquo, et doloso eripe me..." is used as the Introit for Passion Sunday and the Gradual for the following Tuesday (cf. Nidaros Missal c.xix.v, c.xxii.r; Sarum Missal 235, 241; York Missal 78, 80; Missale Romanum [1872], 116, 120) and as the second Antiphon for Lauds on Tuesday of Holy Week (cf. Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae, 222/4-5; Nidaros Breviary, L.vii.v; Sarum Breviary, I. dcclxviii; York Breviary, I. 372); and Ps. 34:20, "Pacifice loquebantur mihi, inimici mei" is used as the Gradual for Friday and Saturday after Passion Sunday (cf. Nidaros Missal, d.i.r [Friday only]; Sarum Missal 251; York Missal, 83; Missale Romanum, 125, 126) and also appears as a response for the night office on Passion Sunday and the following Thursday in the Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae (215/8, 217/26) and the Nidaros Breviary (K.viii.r, L.iii.v; cf. York Breviary, I. 350). See also the antiphon for Terce in the Hours of the Passion attributed to St Bonaventura edited from a fourteenth-century Icelandic ms., AM 241a fol., by Lilli Gjerløw (Liturgica Islandica I. Text, Bibl. Arn. 35 [1980], 220/17-18): "Locuti sunt aduersum me lingua dolosa. et sermonibus odij circumdederunt me..." (Ps. 108:3; the same verse is now used in the night

office on Wednesday in Holy Week and Good Friday -- see Breviarium Romanum [1950], Pars Verna, 508, 546; cf. Sarum Breviary I.dccxci).

62. Myrc gives the conventional explanation for the omission of the kiss of peace during triduum sacrum in Festial 29, "Ad Tenebras", (126/27-29): "This day nys no pax zeuyn at mas, for Iudas betrayde Crist þys nyzt wyth a cosse: þus was þe prophesy of þe passion þys day endyd."

63. Cf. Ps. Eucherius of Lyons (recte Claudius of Turin, † c. 827 -- see Clavis Patrum, 498), PL 50, 1094C (PL 104, 710A); Rabanus Maurus, PL 109, 112B; Angelomus of Luxeuil, PL 115, 377D.

64. See, for instance, mss. of the Speculum Humanae Salvationis, composed c. 1324 by the Dominican friar Ludolph of Saxony (ed. J. Lutz and P. Perdrizet [1907-09], II, Pl. 35, 91, 131 (XVIII,1 and 2); cf. the Latin text at I. 38 (cap. XVIII, 3-16):

Judas traditor Salvatoris nostri dedit Judæis osculi signum,
 Quod erat signum iniquum super modum nimis et malignum.
 Osculum enim semper esse consuevit signum dilectionis;
 Hoc iniquus Judas permutavit in signum traditionis.
 Ista iniqua salutatio, quae in Christo dolose fuit perpetrata,
 Olim fuit in Joab et in Amasa praefigurata:
 Joab Amasam salutans dolosa mente fratrem vocabat,
 Et Judas Christum salutans, iniqua intentione magistrum appellabat.
 Joab dextra mentum Amasae quasi osculans tenebat
 Et, sinistra gladium educens, ipsum perimebat:
 Sic Judas, qui dextra videtur mentum Christi tenuisse,
 Qui legitur sibi: "Ave, rabbi!" blanda dixisse,
 Sinistra vero videtur gladium eduxisse et ipsum perforasse,
 Quia legitur sibi insidias sub blandis verbis occultasse.

A Joab-Judas diptych is also found among the typological miniatures of the Peterborough Psalter (also dated to the early fourteenth century -- see below, plate 1). Cf. the accompanying verse (cit. Lucy Freeman Sandler, The Peterborough Psalter in Brussels and

other Fenland Manuscripts [1974], 114):

Hic cum fraude Ioab. amasam gladio iugulavit.

Sic Iudas dominum. tradidit ipse suum.

On folio 33v of the same work, the Last Supper is juxtaposed with depictions of David (playing on a harp), citing Ps. 40:10, and Jeremiah and "Jesus of Sirach", seated together, citing respectively, Jer. 9:8 and Eccli. 6:10, "Est amicus socius mense". (See below, plate 2. Sandler, 114, misidentifies the figure beside Jeremiah as David. The footwashing scene on the same page cf. John 13:34 recalls the pedilavium ceremony of Maundy Thursday, and anticipates a later typological sequence; see Sandler, 110-111, and 114 ad fig. 39, 36). These miniatures are accompanied by the following verse (cit. J. van den Gheyn, Le Psautier de Peterborough [1911], 8-9):

In quo sperabam fore pacificumque putabam,

Hic supplantator traditor atque fuit,

Pacem qui fatur et amicis insidiatur,

Sic Iudas fuerat qui maledictus erat.

In mensa socius nec habetur fidus amicus.

Est Iudas talis consuluitque malis.

(Sandler, 114, reads sonus instead of socius in l. 5)

In the Biblia Pauperum, the oldest manuscripts of which also date from the beginning of the fourteenth century, the betrayal of Christ is associated with Jacob's slaying of Abner (II Sam. 3:27) and Triphon's false peace with Jonathan (I Macc. 12:39-49); the scriptural captions are Ps. 40:10, Prov. 17:20 ("qui vertit linguam incedit in malum"), Isaiah 3:11 ("Vae impio in malum!"), and Jer. 9:8 (see Henrik Cornell, ed., Biblia Pauperum [1925], 273-4, "Judas-kuss", fig. 32, pl. 17, 37). For further examples of pictorial and plastic representations of the typological parallel of Joab and Judas see H. Sachs, "Joab", Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie, II, 407.

W.D. Hand, op. cit., 334-35, cites early modern examples of the

proverbial collocation "Joabsgruss und Judaskuss" (cf. ODS, IX, col. 891, "Joabs Hilsen og Judaskys").

The author of the third section of Stjórn neither alludes to Judas' betrayal nor makes use of a saying of the type "fair words/false intent" in his account of Joab's slaying of Amasa. He does, however, embellish with a gnomic observation his rendering of II Sam. 20:11: "Interea quidam viri, cum stetissent iuxta cadaver Amasae, de sociis Ioab, dixerunt: Ecce qui esse voluit pro Ioab comes David."; cf. Stjórn 541/32 -542/1, "Ok sem suétungar Joab komu þar at sem likami Amase laa i bloði sinu. meðtu þeir. Morgu skipter skiott um. sa liggr her nv er giarna villdi vera höfðingi Daid fyrer hertuga varn." (Hermann Pálsson, op. cit., 81, cites some OWN analogues for this proverb.)

Another vivid emblem of deceitfulness which came to be associated with the Easter season, especially in the later middle ages, was the figure of the scorpion. In a curious sequence in his Pèlerinage de l'Ame, Guillaume de Deguileville (fl. 1320) associates each of the chief events in the life of Christ with a sign of the Zodiac (on this section of the poem see Edmond Faral, "Guillaume de Diguileville, moine de Châalis", Histoire Littéraire de France XXXIX [1952], 69ff.). In compliance with the demands of Guillaume's allegory (rather than those of conventional astrology) Christ's entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday takes place under the sign of Scorpio:

<u>Le Pèlerinage de L'Ame</u> , ed.	cf. Caxton's translation, <u>The</u>
J. Sturzinger (London, 1895),	<u>Pylgremage of the Sowle</u> (1483), rpt.
10211-24:	<u>The English Experience</u> , No. 726
	(1975), Lib.V, fol. Cii r-v:
En Escorpion fu vëu	Scorpio Ouerpassyng this in pro-
A celle fois que recëu	cesse of tyme of two yere and an
Fu a la grant procession	half or nyhe there aboute this pre-
De ceux qui mort et passion	cious sonne entred in to the scor-
Tost apres li procurerent.	pion what tyme so solempnly he was

Escorpions se monstrent	receyued of the peple with braunches
Qui bonne chiere par devant	and palmes And of that same people
Li firent et tost ensuiant	sithynne a wyke after which that
De la queue le ferirent	shewede theym seluen venemous
Et a mort livrer le firent.	Scorpyons shewynge hym atte hys
Aussi li fu escorpion	comynge soo good and frendely chere
Judas qui fist la trahison.	he was stongen bytterly anone to the
Par bel semblant il le baisa,	deth And wonder wel may Judas be
Puis aus Jūis il le livra.	lykened to the scorpyon For he byteth
	and styngeth bothe two at ones Soo
	dyde fals Judas kyssyng oure lord
	bytrayd hym to the Jewes such maner
	kyssyng with treson may be callyd
	a full bytter and venemous bytyng
	who that euer it useth.

Similarly, in the Passion d'Arras attributed to Eustache Mercadé († 1440) Judas himself, in a monologue in which he bemoans his own treachery, compares his false kiss to the scorpion's sting (J.M. Richard, ed., Le Mystère de La Passion [1891], 151/12994-98):

Ce fu bien faulse trahison
 De le livrer par mon baisier!
 Ha, morsure d'escorpion,
 Comment l'osas tu atoucher?
 Ha! faulx trahitre! ah! faulx lodier!

In yet another mid-fifteenth-century Passion drama, the Mystère de La Passion of Arnoul Gréban, Mary Magdalene draws the same comparison in a philippic against the Jews (G. Paris and G. Raynaud, ed., Le Mystère de la Passion d'Arnoul Gréban [1878], 316/24146-53):

O fellons Juifz, qui vous meust
 d'occire cil qui vous promeust
 a tout bien et tout bien vous veult?
 detraction,
 C'est toujours ta condicion:
devant sers d'adulacion
mes tu poins comme escorpion,
 voire en absence.

The Scorpion's "caudal sting" made it a natural symbol of false

flattery and deceit. Vincent of Beauvais, for instance, notes (Speculum Naturale, XX. 160 [1625, rpt. 1964-65], col. 1549):

Scorpio blandus est, quasi virgineum dicitur habere
vultum, sed habet in cauda nodosa venenatum aculeum,
quo pungit et inficit proximantem.

(Cf. D. Schmidtke, Geistliche Tierinterpretation in der deutschsprachigen Literatur des Mittelalters [1968], I. 305ff.)

And Bartholomeus Anglicus explains that the creature's nature is mirrored in its name (John Trevisa's translation, On the Properties of Things..., ed. M.C. Seymour, et al. [1975], II, lib. 18, cap. 98, p. 1248):

...And þis name scorpius comep of scorte þat is "swete"
and of pogo þat is "to feyne" for bifore he feyneþ
plesauce and bihynde he styngep...

(cf., e.g., Johannes Balbus, Catholicon [c. 1470], s.v.). Similarly, Gregory, in his ninth homily in Ezechielem (in the passage directly preceding the discussion of the "hypocritical bee", cited above, n. 37), takes a reference to scorpions in Ezekiel 2:6 to refer to smooth-tongued backbiters (CCSL 142, in Ez. I.9. 21, 134/431 - 135/438; PL 76, 879C-D):

...At si fortasse iustum quempiam tantae iam uirtutis inuen-
erint, ut ei loqui contraria non praesumant, quia subuersores
esse non possunt, statim scorpiones fiunt. Scorpio enim
palpando incedit, sed cauda ferit; nec mordet a facie, sed a
posterioribus nocet. Scorpiones ergo sunt omnes blandi et
malitiosi, qui bonis quidem in faciem non resistunt, sed mox
ut recesserint derogant, alios quos ualuerint inflammant,
quæque possunt noxia immittunt, mortifera inferre occulte non
desinunt. Scorpiones ergo sunt qui blandi et innoxii in facie
uidentur, sed post dorsum portant unde uenenum fundant.

The comparison was proverbial (cf., e.g., Walther 2782, "Clam verbis
pungens et coram leniter ungens/ Est ut in occulto scorpius insidians";
Whiting S 96, "The scorpion flatters with its head when it will sting
with its tail"; G. Frank, MLN 58 (1943), 509, "l'escorpion lèche

quand il veut poindre"); and other well-known examples of the scorpion analogy include Bernard of Clairvaux's denunciation of Arnold of Brescia (Epistola 196, PL 182, 363C-D, "...cujus conversatio mel, et doctrina venenum: cui caput columbæ, cauda scorpionis est"), John of Plano Carpini's characterization of the treachery of the Mongols (Ystoria Mongolorum, IV. 6, ed. A. van den Wyngaert, Sinica Franciscana I [1929], 47/6-8, "...In principio quidem sunt blandi, sed ultimo pungunt ut scorpio", cf. Ibid., VIII. 3, 94/14-22), and Dante's depiction of Geryon, his symbol of fraud (Inferno 17, 10-27), with the face of a righteous man and the tail of a scorpion. (He draws here on a tradition that Geryon treacherously slew his guests after winning their confidence with "fair words"; see P. Toynbee, A Dictionary of Proper Names and Notable Matters in the Works of Dante, rev. C.S. Singleton [1968], 310. On the "false flattery" of the scorpion as a "venereal" image in, e.g., Ancrene Riwe, ed. M. Day, E.E.T.S., O.S. 225 [1952, rpt. 1975], 90/35 - 92/25, and Chaucer, Merchant's Tale, 2057-60, see G.B. Pace, "The Scorpion of Chaucer's Merchants Tale", Modern Language Quarterly 26 [1965], 369-74).

As Maïcel Bulard has pointed out, however, in his fascinating study, Le Scorpion Symbole du Peuple Juif dans l'Art Religieux des XIVe, XVe, XVIe Siècles (Annales de l'Est. Mémoires, No. 6 [1935]), the scorpion was also used as a symbol of the Synagogue, and is often depicted on pennons and banners in late medieval representations of the Crucifixion. In many Calvary scenes, Roman and Jewish soldiers alike bear the sign of the scorpion on their tunics, shields and saddlecloths (cf. below, plates 3, 4, 5). Moreover, scorpion-pennons are regularly juxtaposed with Roman standards bearing the S.P.Q.R. (the letters of which are often jumbled or displayed backwards) to emphasize, by means of a visual

pun, the shameful collusion of Rome and Israel in the crime of the Crucifixion (cf. plate 6; Bulard notes that this deliberate association of the scorpion and S.P.Q.R. is made explicit in a Crucifixion scene [dated 1495] by Donato da Montorfano in the Refectory of Santa Maria delle Grazie in Milan, in which three standards, two bearing the S.P.Q.R. and one the scorpion, are accompanied by a fourth on which an escutcheon with a double scorpion motif is enclosed within the letters SCOR (see Bulard, 218-219; below, plates 7 and 8).

65. Cf. Sedulius Scotus on Romans 16:16 (PL 103, 125A):

Hoc autem osculum sanctum appellat Apostolus, quo nomine illud docet ut casta sint oscula quæ in ecclesiis dantur, tum deinde ut simulata non sint sicut fuerunt Judæ, qui osculum labiis dabat et proditionem corde tractabat.

Hatto of Vercelli on the same verse (PL 134, 283C):

Denique post specialem salutationem, ad generalem se contulit, dicens: Salutate invicem in osculo. Et quia sunt quorundam subdola oscula, sicut Judæ: ut ea prohiberet, subjunxit, sancto.

66. It is interesting to compare these lines with a similar passage in the ME Soul and Body dialogue partially preserved in the "Worcester Fragments". Again, the soul directs its invective against the body's hypocritical tongue (Die Fragmente der Reden der Seele an den Leichnam in zwei Handschriften zu Worcester und Oxford, ed. Richard Buchholz, Erlanger Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie VI [1890], 9-10, "Fragment G", ll. 15-21):

Nu liþ þin [tung]e stille on ful colde denne.
 Nafest þu gærsume þe mo, þe heo was spekinde [so].
Heo was faken biforen ond atterne bihinden.
 Heo demde feole domes, þe drihten [weren] lōpe.
 Isæid hit is on psalme ond ful soþ hit is bi hire:
 "Lingua tua concinnabat [dolus]." [Ps. 49:19]
 Heo geoddede fakenliche ond þen feonde icwemde.

Eleanor K. Hemingham ("Old English Precursors of 'The Worcester Fragments'", PMLA 55 [1940], 306) has suggested that there may be a connection between this text and "Homiletic Fragment I" in The Vercelli Book.

67. Early English Proverbs (1910), vii, cit. G.R. Owst, Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England (2nd ed., 1961), 41.

68. Owst, Ibid., 46.

69. Cf., e.g., Snorri's account of the confrontation of 'Oláfr Haraldsson and Kálfr 'Arnason at Stiklastaðir ('Oláfs saga ins helga, k. 225, Heimskringla II, ÍF 27 [2nd ed., 1979], 377/17 - 378/4):

Þá er liðit hvárt tveggja stóð ok kenndusk menn,
þá mælti konungr: "Hví ertu þar, Kálfr, því at vér
skilðumsk vinir suðr á Mæri? Illa samir þér at
berjask í móti oss eða skjóta geigurskot í lið vart,
því at hér eru fjórir bræðr þínir." Kálfr svarar:
"Mart ferr nú annan veg, konungr, en bezt myndi sama.
Skilðusk þér svá við oss, at nauðsyn bar til at friðask
við þá, er eptir váru. Verðr nú hverr at vera þar, sem
staddr, er, en sættask myndim vit enn, ef ek skylda ráða."
Þá svarar Finn: "Þat er mark á um Kálf, ef hann mælir
vel, at þá er hann ráðinn til at gera illa."

The reference, in the Saint Olaf's Day homily in Nhom., to Kálfr as a ðrottens svicari who "vann...niðings-værc á sinum lána-
drótne er hann var famennastr fyrir staddr" (Nhom. 111/10-15) is doubtless meant to call to mind the arch-dróttinssviki. This term is not only used to refer indirectly to Judas in the Soul and Body dialogue (Nhom. 149/31-32), but also renders proditor Domini in the translation of Alc. VV (Nhom. 24/31-32, "...sva sem Judás er fyrst var postole. en síðan ðrottens sviki. ok sæliare hans..." = PL 101, 632C, "...sicut Judas primo Apostolus, & postea proditor

Domini..."). Cf. also Bishop Eysteinn 'Asláksson of Oslo's revilement of false-hearted dissemblers in a letter of 1395 (DN IX, 186/22-28):

...Ero þæt þau wærsta förrad sām wæra megho lofua frid oc grid oc sidan bæra ofwnd a sino hiarta ok illan wilia till þes sām han fyr sættes vider. Ok muḡhu þeir ær aa þær sættir gera gridnidhingiar æitæ ok fullir drottans suikarar luttakande æwærligre heluitis pinu med diæflinum siælum sām fullær med ofwnd oc alsko ær ok med hins fula Judas ær suæik siin herræ med kosse sām fridarmark skuldi wæra.

(On the use of the term dróttinssviki to refer to Lucifer at Konungs skuggsiá 78/25, see Anne Holtsmark "Uppreistarsaga", MM [1958], 95-97.)

It is also interesting to compare the various accounts of how Earl Hákon Pálsson lured Magnús Erlendsson to his martyrdom on Egilsey. The author of Orkneyinga saga reminds us that this killing took place during Eastertide (ÍF 34 1965, 105/13 - 106/1):

...Þeir helðu þá báðir til Hrosseyjar, þar sem þingstöð þeira var Orkneyinga... Þessi fundr var á langaföstu... þá bundu þeir sætt sína með eiðum ok handsöglum. Ok er þaðan liðu nokkurar stundir, þá eindagaði Hákon jarl með falsi ok fagrmælum stefnudag inum sæla Magnúsi jarli, at eigi skyldi snúask eða ónýtask frændsemi þeira ok staðfastliga nýggjrr friðr. Skyldi þessi fundr til staðfestu friðar ok sættargöróa þeira á milli í páskaviku um várit í Egilsey...

In the Legenda de Sancto Magno (Ibid., 306/3-7) it is Hákon's retainers who are said to bear "fair words with false intent":

...Satellites autem sui in necem beati Magni conspirantes, sed simulationis nube palliantes, cum beato viro pacifice in dolo locuti sunt ut beatus Magnus et Hako statuto die in quadam insula, quæ vocatur Egelesio cum pari numero hominum et armorum convenirent.

The author of Magnúss saga lengri, however, makes explicit the

analogy between Hákon's treachery and that of Judas:

k. 20, Ibid., 359/15-19:

...Sem þessi sætt er samín ok staðfest með eiðum ok handsölum, þá fundust jarlar með friðarkossi. En þat sem inn heilagi Magnús jarl hugði til friðar, þat sneri Hákon til flærðar ok undirhyggju.

k. 22, Ibid., 361/1-9:

...Allar syndir gerast af girnd, ok allar fýstir óleyfðar af áfgirni fram ganga...Þat birti inn glæpafullasti Júdas er seldi drottin vǫru víð verði. Þetta it sama svikarinn Hákon jarl, bæði með dæmum ok raunarstöfum, í þeim svikum, er hann sveik sinn frænda, [Magnús] jarl, í tryggðum, þó at með ýmsum hætti gerðist atburðir um skipti þeira ok sundrþykki.

k. 23, Ibid., 362/5-11:

...Þessi formáli sættar ok samþykkis líkaði inum heilaga Magnúsi harðla vel svá sem fullkomnum heilhuga ok skærrar samvizku án allra grunsemda. En Hákon jarl hafði á þessu þingi skreytt sína undirhyggju ok hult með skýi skröksemdarinnar, því at þetta sáttmál hafði hann gört með flærð ok prettum ok fullum svikum, sem síðan reyndist...

(This chapter closes [362/21ff.] with a comparison of Magnús to the "grape in the winepress", a simile usually applied to the crucified Christ. Cf., e.g., the stanza, "Tveirr hygg ek at ber bəri", attributed to Nikulás of Þverá in 'Óláfr Hvításkáld's Málskrúðsfræði. See discussions by G. Turville-Petre, Origins of Icelandic Literature, 161; W. Lange, Studien zur Christlichen Dichtung der Nordgermanen... [1958], 77f.; J.W. Marchand, "Two Christian Skaldic Fragments", ANF 91 [1976], 138-152.)

70. The antagonism of "human" and "divine" eloquence was, of course, a matter of grave concern to Christian writers of antiquity and the middle ages. The early Christian repugnance for verbositas without veritas is perhaps given its most forceful expression in Augustine's Confessions (cf.. III. 3.6 - 5.9; IV. 2.2; V. 13.23;

VI. 4.5 - 6; VIII. 2.5); but a general mistrust of seductive eloquence persisted throughout the middle ages. See, e.g., H. Caplan, "Classical Rhetoric and the Mediaeval Theory of Preaching", Classical Philology 28 (1933), 80-81; R. McKeon, "Rhetoric in the Middle Ages", Speculum 17 (1942), 5ff., 12ff.; and above, p. 68, n. 47.

71. Fagrmæle, cf., e.g.:

Sthom. 13/18-24 ("Nativitas sancti Johannis baptiste"):

þa urþo missatter breóþr tueir oc konungar at nafne. Herodes oc phillippus syner herodis þess er bornum lét fara. hafþe herodis veita kono bróþor síns frá honom. Bar hann fagrmæle síþan a ioan. sagþe ioan at eongom maNe vare lofat at hafa bróþor kono sina. þa let herodes taka ioan oc setia i myrqvastofu.

Barl. 23/33 - 24/4 (the temptation of Eve): Ps. Ioh. Dam. 17/34-37:

Til þessa fann hann ser með flærð ok prettom slika vel. Hann bað ormenn er slægare var oc pretvisare en ekki annat kuikuenndi. at hann skyldi meör fagrmælom svikia Evo...

...callide inquirebat quomodo priuaret eum beata illa conuersione. Serpentem igitur instrumentum suæ deceptionis arripiens, per ipsum locutus est mulieri...

Strengleikar, "Equitan",

72/22-24:

...þair er nybratnir ero ok i astom otryggvir ok kuenna svikarar listugir at spotta. undir fagrmæle bunir at blækkia þa hovum ver marga séna...

A. Ewert, ed. Marie de France,

Lais [1944], "Equitan", ll. 163-66:

Cil ki de amur sunt nov[e]llier
E ki s'aturnent de trichier
Il sunt gabé et deceū;
De plusurs l'avum nus veū.

Elis s. ok Rosamundu, ed. E. Kölbing (1881, rpt. 1971), 106/10-13:

...ek hygg, kuað hann, at Maghun se mer nockot raiðr,
þa er hann þolði Malkabre at suikia mik; hann sendi
til min æinn vandan mann, er bar a mik fals oc fagr mæli...

(No similar phrase is found in the corresponding laisse [LXIII] in Elie de St Gille, ed. G. Raynaud 1879. Cf., perhaps, the collocation fals ok flærð, discussed by E.S. Olszewska, "Alliterative Phrases in the Ormulum: Some Norse Parallels", English and Medieval Studies Presented to J.R.R. Tolkien on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday, ed. N. Davis and C.L. Wrenn [1962], 115-118.)

See also the account in Njáls saga of Mprðr Valgarðsson's initial

efforts to ingratiate himself with the sons of Njáll (k. 108, ÍF 12 [1954, rpt. 1971], 275/23-26):

Nökkuru síðar reið Mörðr til Bergþórshváls ok fann þá Skarpheðin. Hann sló á mikit fagrmæli við þá, ok talaði hann dag allan ok kvezk við þá mart vilja eiga...

Bakmæli eða lygilegh fagrmæli is included among the sins deplored in chapter 28 of Hirðskrá (NGL II, 418/1-2). Cf., however, Hirðskrá 29 (421/2-4): "...ver goðu hofe fagryrðr, ægi ofmalogr nauðsynia laust, siðlutr oc þo kuiklutr í ollum atfærdum þínum...".

One can perhaps compare Arne Rudskoger's analysis of the semantic development of the English adjective, fair (Fair, Foul, Nice, Proper: A Contribution to the Study of Polysemeity [1952], 139):

...With det[erminant]s like promise and word there early arose a conflict between the positive and the negative aspect. Fair words might be sincerely meant, "gentle" or "delightful, agreeable", but they might as well be, and more often were, dissimulated, "specious, flattering". The two senses often appear side by side in the same text, and the reader has to go to the wider context to find out which aspect is meant. In the course of time the negative aspect seems to have got the upper hand.

Sléttmæle/ -mælge/ -yrði, etc., cf., e.g.:

Barl., 121/30-34:

Sem sa hinn vngi maðr oc hinn vitri hafðe hœyrtt sua langa fortalu faður sins oc giorssamlega til lytt allz þess er hann sagðe. þa fann hann giorlla. at þesse slettyrði varo með myklu falsse oc fiandans aeggian framflutt. er vm þat ligr iafnan at suikia með slettmæle alla þa er til hans fortalu tæygiazt.

Ps. Ioh. Dam., 83/19-21:

Prudentissimus uero et uere nobilis iuuenis, patris superflua locutione et stulta oppositione audita, et agnita tortuosi draconis uersutia, quomodo a dextris pedibus illius parauit laqueum, capere deificam animam artificiose tentans...

Ibid., 164/28-30:

Margar þessu líkar ræður tomar
oc hegomlegar flutti fram sa
hinn illzskufulli ellikarll oc
villdi sva firirkoma með sinum
slettyróum við konongs son
guðspiælla trv...

Ibid., 106/12-14:

Plura autem uaniloquia et
inutiles nugacitates in malis
inueteratus proponens, et syl-
logismos consuens de prædicatione
euangelij, uolens quidem istum
deridere...

Ibid., 175/6-7:

...er slikt meir með slægð oc
slættmælge fram flytjannde. en
með afle oc akefð.

Ibid., 112/28:

Et ideo suasione potius quam
ui sunt transmutandi.

Thom.I, 196/16-23 (King Henry refuses to con-
firm with the kiss of peace his reconciliation
with Archbishop Thomas):

Quadrilogus, cit.

Thóm.I, 196/35-36:

Thomas erkibyskup sem hann heyrer konungenn
slik orð i munne hava, grvner hann þegar at
þau se mæirr með glæsum frammfærð en fullum
vilía... konungsens skaplynde kenner hann ok
giorla, fyri þi gefr honum skilía, at slik orð
ero æige sogð af fullum vilía. Fyri þi grunar
hann þegar...at æige se vist at fullr vile fylge
sliko slættmæle.

Archiprasul vero...
in suspicionem mox
incidit.

cf. Thóm. II, I. 448/5-7:

Thómas erkibyskup skilr þessi orð, ok kennir þegar af kunnri
lund, at eigi er brjóstið bjart, þótt orðin fari slètt...

and the characterization of Henry at Thóm.II, I.44/10-12:

Heinrekr konungr var vitr maðr ok glögggr í allri grein
þegar á ungum aldri, orðfagr ok, enn eigi ljóss í skap-
lyndi...

(see also Thóm. II, II.236/12, slættmælgí Heinreks konungs)

Michaels s., HMS I, 711/35 - 712/2 (Antichrist):

...tekr þa mandom ok segiz Krístr vera, lyiandi verolldina
ymissum hattum sinnar flærðar, lokkandi með fegiofum, leiðandi
með slettum orókrokum...

Jón Helgason, The Arnamagnæan ms. 674 A 4to, Elucidarius,
Manuscripta Islandica 4 (1957), xxxii, compares the descrip-
tion of the deceptive eloquence of Antichrist at Elucidarius

III. 33 -- Hauksbók 171/1-2, "suicr hann kenní menn með speki oc melsku. þui at hann <kann> allar íþrotter"; (Lefèvre, 453/8-10, "sapientia et incredibili eloquentia clerum obtinebit, quia omnes artes et omnem scripturam memoriter sciet) -- with the similar characterization of 'Oðinn in Ynglinga saga, k. 6, ÍF 26 (1941), 17/5-14, "...af honum námu þeir allar íþróttirnar, þvíat hann kunni fyrst allar...hann talaði svá snjalt ok slétt, at ollum, er á heyrðu, þótti þat eina satt".

Cf. also Söderwall, s.v. slätt, adv., l. "glatt; vackert; väl", with reference inter alia to Erikskrönikan (ed. R. Pipping, S.F.S.S. 47 [1921]), 256-261:

Ok talado for them yffrid slät
ok sagdo at the villo haffuat til säät
Swa at folkunga lagdo thera vapn nid
thy at biscop koll haffde sworet them frid
Ok gingo til thera ouer ena aa
ther loth them jerlin hoffwod aff slaa

Cf. Ibid., 1070-83; 3696-7, "The wille han oss ekki wäll/ ä huro slät han for oss thäll".

Hallvard Lie ("Studier i Heimskringlas Stil", NVAOS Hist.-Fil. Kl., 1936, No.5 [1937], 124) distinguishes between terms like fagr-mæli, orðaskreyting, orðaglæsa, sléttmælgj, orðkringi used to refer to "det skinnende retoriske praktstykke... glatt-tungethet og munnrapphet", and the more sober forms of eloquence exemplified in the speeches in Heimskringla. Earlier in the same study (68), Lie draws attention to a passage illustrating the pejorative connotation of the terms sléttorör and sléttmæli in chapter 21 of Snorri's Magnússona saga -- the mannjafnaör episode in which the brothers and bitter rivals Sigurör Jörðsalafari and Eysteinn compare their talents. When Eysteinn touches on his skill as a speaker, Sigurör is quick to take advantage of his ambiguous choice of words (Heimskringla III,

ÍF 27 [1951], 260/12-20):

Eysteinn konungr segir "...kann ek ok miklu betr til laga en þú, ok svá hvat sem vit skolum tala, em ek miklu sléttorðari." Sigurór konungr svarar: "Vera kann, at þú hafir numit fleiri lögprettu, því at ek átta þá annat at starfa. En engi frýr þér sléttmælis, en hitt mæla margir, at þú sér eigi allfastorðr..."

Cf. also Vitae Patrum, HMS II, 358/14, blídmæla eitir (Ibid., 358/23, venena blandimentorum).

72. It is interesting to compare R.W. Southern's observation that it was precisely the ability to find new contexts for old ideas which characterized the "original genius" of the "twelfth-century renaissance" (Platonism, Scholastic method, and the School of Chartres.

The Stenton Lectures, No. 12 [1978], 36):

The process of accumulation did not exclude the proper exercise of individual genius. This was displayed partly in sharpening and refining, but most creatively in perceiving connexions which had eluded previous observers. All the masters of this period had read and approved a sentence which they found in Horace:

Dixeris egregie notum si callida verbum
Reddiderit iunctura novum.

"You will have spoken well, if you make an old word new, by giving it a fresh context." Substitute the word sententia for verbum and we have a perfect formulation of the kind of originality which was open to the masters of this period.

Plates

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Plate 1:
Peterborough Psalter, 40v
(Sandler, op. cit., 26,
fig. 40).

Plate 2:
Peterborough Psalter, 33v (Sandler, op. cit.,
25, fig. 36).

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Plate 3:
Crucifixion panel (1447) from the predella of the
Madonna del Pergolato of Giovanni Boccati (Giovanni
di Pier Matteo); reproduced by Pietro Zampetti, La
Pittura Marchigiana da Gentile a Raffaello (1970),
pl. 63 (cf. Bulard, ch. 10, § 24, 135-136).

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Plates 4 and 5:
Two panels painted
c.1450 by Fra Angelico
da Fiesole and his
pupils for the spor-
telli of the Church
de la Santissima
Annunziata, Florence
-- now in the Museo
San Marco, Florence
(reproduced by Bulard,
planches XXVII, XXVIII
cf. Ibid., ch. 10,
§ 25, pp. 138-139).

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Plate 6:

Two details from a Crucifixion mural (c. 1466) by Giovanni and Antonio Sparapane di Norcia in the Church of San Francesco, Toscanella (above, the unrepentant thief, Gestas; below, the good thief, Dysmas); drawing by Bulard, planche XVIII, cf. Ibid., ch. 10, § 7 bis, 124-125.

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Plate 7:

Crucifixion mural (dated 1495) by Donato da Montorfano, in the refectory of the monastery of Santa Maria delle Grazie, Milan (reproduced by Bulard, planche XVIII; cf. Ibid., ch. 10, §8, 125-126).

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Plate 8:

Detail of same (drawing by Bulard, planche XIX.1).

Chapter three:

Learned sententiae --
"dust in the wind".

Concerning proverbs N.F.S. Grundtvig observed generally, and (as one might expect) sententiously, "det skal man ei spørge Bøger men Bønder om"¹; the original and true anthologies of this material are the minds and tongues of the common people. From the time of Aristotle, however, the use of well-known proverbs and sententiae by public speakers was also recommended in rhetorical manuals. Aristotle demonstrated that familiar apothegms or *γνώμαι*, if employed skilfully and sparingly, could make statements about particular subjects sound like general truths, and invest almost any argument with a serious, moral character.² By Quintilian's day the proverbial phrase had become a favourite tool of Roman rhetoricians as well, as he emphasizes in introducing his discussion of the sententia -- "a form of ornament which many regard as the chief, nay almost the sole adornment of oratory".³ Quintilian says that the word sententia was originally used to refer to what one "sensed" or felt in one's soul.⁴ He adds, however, that the word is properly used of familiar aphorisms, called sententiae because they resemble the decrees or resolutions of public bodies.⁵ Indeed, because the "sentences" manipulated by the public speakers and men of letters of Greek and Roman antiquity were usually not orally transmitted folk-proverbs but celebrated lines from "classic" curriculum authors, they may well have been used to give a piece of writing a stamp of respectability and authority.⁶ As E.R. Curtius remarks, the prudent author or orator would have taken care to learn by heart a fund of literary memorabilia, or to have access to a written collection:

In the antique poets there were hundreds and thousands of lines which put a psychological experience or a rule of life in the briefest form Such lines are "mnemonic verses". They are learned by heart; they are collected; they are arranged in alphabetical order that they may be ready to hand.⁷

Medieval litterati continued this process of selection and compilation, intermingling, as Curtius says, "antique and medieval booty" in their

florilegia and handbooks.⁸ Maxims and aphorisms, even "vulgar" ones, also found their way into schoolbooks as practice pieces for Latin translation and penmanship.⁹ Iver Kjær, in his article "Ordsprog", KLNM XII, 675, notes,

I skolen brugtes samlinger af o. fra folkesprogene med tilhørende lat. versioner (disse ofte metriske og ofte flere lat. til hvert vulgær-sproget o.) til indlæring af lat. (ordforråd, synonymik, grammatik, retorik) og livsvisdom.

Kjær makes the important point that while popular and "bookish" proverbs were distinguished in theory, both types are found interwoven in anthologies and, accordingly, in the writings of those who used them (Ibid., 674-675):

De middelalderlige o. er i vidt omfang fælleseur. og må studeres under dette perspektiv Efter senantikt mønster skelnede middelalderen mellem folkelige og lærde o. (proverbia rustica og voces sapientium), en distinktion, der vanskeligt kan opretholdes ved studium af periodens egne o. De bibelske og antikke o. vandrede fra lat. ud i folkesprogene, de folkelige o. ind i lat., og o. fra et folkesprog til et andet gennem lat. Periodens lat. skribenter benytter - i overensstemmelse med retorikkernes forskrifter - o. fra folkesprogene jævnsides med det bibelske og antikke stof.¹⁰

Medieval rhetorical manuals also continued to advocate the use of proverbia. Both Matthew of Vendôme and Geoffrey of Vinsauf recommend the citation of a proverb in the exordium of a literary work as one method of achieving an "artificial beginning", and include a number of illustrative "proverbs", mostly drawn from classical authors, in their treatises.¹¹ Ernest Gallo, in his study, The Poetria Nova and Its Sources in Early Rhetorical Doctrine (1971), points out that the advice that one should begin a composition with a proverb is not found in classical rhetorical theory. He notes, however, that "the proverb often opens those forms of quasi-syllogistic proof known as the enthymeme and epicheireme, and like-

wise introduces a related form of discourse known as the chria", and that these three forms of discourse were developed in both the artes dictaminis and the artes praedicandi.¹² Of the former, Gallo notes,

In the letter, the exordium often takes the form of a proverb or of a quotation from scripture. Guido Faba says that the letter-writer may begin with a proverb, and Conrad von Mure inserts a brief discussion of the proverb and the chria into his discussion of the exordium of the letter. However, theoretical discussions of the use of the proverb, enthymeme or chria are not frequently to be found in treatises on dictamen ...¹³

Gallo also shows that the instructions set forth in the artes praedicandi for introducing the theme of a scholastic sermon according to the "argumentative method" also resemble the views of Matthew and Geoffrey on the use of general maxims in the exordium. Robert of Basevorn, in his Forma Praedicandi, distinguishes four types of introductio per argumentum: by means of induction, example, syllogism, or enthymeme (inductive, exemplariter, sylogistice, enthymematice).¹⁴ In all of these methods the major premise tends to be either a general statement of a proverbial character or a proverb pure and simple.¹⁵ Similarly, John of Wales recommends the use of "aliquod vulgare proverbium" to introduce both the protheme and the theme of a sermon, and cites some sample vernacular proverbs in Latin translation.¹⁶

The scholastic sermons discussed in the artes praedicandi, with their strict divisions into theme, protheme, introduction, division, sub-division, and discussion, represent a later and quite separate stage in the evolution of the sermon from that reflected in the looser compositions of the OWN Homily Books. It is, however, interesting to find at least one clear instance of the use of a proverb to introduce a sermon, in the Doomsday homily mentioned in the previous chapter, "Sermo ad populum ualde necessaria" (Nhom. 168/13-17):

GUðs friðr se með ollum yör báðe karlom ok conom. Þat er atqváðe norrønna manna at ærvætt er litlum fugli með lamdum vengium at hefia hótt sína flaug. Sva er ok

ervett miðlungar snotrom með usniallre tungu at mæla
um almatkan guð eða hina hæsto luti ...

The Sunday homily "Drottens daga mal" in Sthom also opens with an
alliterative sententia communis (25/11-16):

Sa es mikill vanþe veraldar at meira virþesc allt þat
es sialdnar verþr. þó at til þess se miNe til qvama. en
þat virþesc miNa es auþgatra es þó at þat se raúnar
meira. Af þessom veraldar vanþa hever þat orþet at mikill-
hlute alþýþo virþa velflestar helgar tíþer. þer es sialdnar
ero a tveim misserom framaR en dróttens daga es a hverre
viko ero haldner ...

The introductory phrase would appear to be a proverb of the type, "Omne
quod est rarum, plerisque solet fore carum."¹⁷

At any rate, the opening lines of both of these sermons could without
difficulty be called proverbia by the standard of medieval rhetorical
manuals. For, as Ernest Gallo points out, the terms proverbium and
sententia (regularly accompanied by the adjectives generalis and communis
in the medieval handbooks¹⁸), could be used to refer to almost any "wise
words" or memorable pronouncements:

Geoffrey's proverbium may be a proverb in the modern
sense: e.g., "The more a thing is wished for, the more
it evades us." (Poetria Nova 181); but generally the
proverbium in Geoffrey is any sententious, general
statement:

"Hatred is most vile, a quite deadly poison." (Poetria Nova 186)

"That law is just which pays deceit with sorrow." (Poetria Nova 191).¹⁹

Similarly, D.V. Ives, in an article on the use of proverbs in the Ancrene
Wisse, notes,

Under the term "proverb" the mediaeval writer himself
would doubtless have included all quotations from the
Scriptures and from the Fathers, for the term proverbium
seems to have been used in the Middle Ages to denote
any quotation from a patristic or classical authority.²⁰

Indeed, the authors of the Old Scandinavian homilies, when they wished to
make use of a general proverb to bolster an argument, could, like

sermonists elsewhere, draw not only on a fund of native saws, but on another store of sententiae -- those culled from the writings of the Church Fathers.

In the first chapter of his Summa de arte praedicatoria, Alan of Lille says (PL 210, 113B):

In sententiis vero debet habere praedictio pondus, ut virtute sententiarum animos auditorum emolliat, excitet mentem, pariat contritionem, compluat doctrinis, tonet minis, blandiatur promissis, et ita tota tendat ad utilitatem proximorum.

The meaning of the term sententia here is rather vague. Alan may simply be saying that a sermon should have some substance, or that the sermonist should make use of apt scriptural citations.²¹ It is more likely, however, that Alan is thinking here of the sort of excerpts which might be found in a preacher's florilegium.²² Such compilations differed according to the purposes of their authors, as H.M. Rochais has pointed out:

Les buts poursuivis par les compilateurs sont divers.
Ils visent à commenter l'Écriture: chaînes exégétiques;
à manifester ou à défendre une vérité théologique:
florilèges dogmatiques ou apologétiques; à fournir des
textes pour les cérémonies du culte: recueils liturgiques;
à munir de citations ou d'exemples les prédicateurs:
sentenciaires homilétiques ...²³

Among these were also the collections of devotional commonplaces and moral axioms whose influence on Old English and Old West Norse homilies has been examined by Joan Turville-Petre.²⁴ These handbooks were, as Turville-Petre notes,

... manuals of a humble practical kind, supplying simple definitions and illustrative passages from the Fathers. These were the florilegia of the type known as "ascetic", which assembled moral and penitential extracts and formulations of Christian duty. This channel transmitted fragments of the learning of Jerome, Augustine, Cassian and Gregory; excerpts from the homilies of Caesarius and of obscurer

preachers such as "Eusebius Gallicanus" were included; and the encyclopedic works of Isidore ... were extensively used, particularly his Synonyma and Sententiae From such sources the teacher composed his manual, and the preacher illustrated the instructions to his flock.²⁵

Rochais, in his article, "Contribution a l'Histoire des Florilèges Ascétiques du Haut Moyen Âge Latin", lists over forty such collections of extracts (some of them available in modern editions, most still unpublished), many of which circulated widely throughout the middle ages.²⁶ Prominent among these were Isidore's Sententiae (which Rochais calls "chef de file aux florilèges ascétiques latins" because it served as both model and source for many later collections²⁷), the Liber Scintillarum of Defensor of Ligugé, the Liber Exhortationis of Paulinus of Aquileia (based in part on the Admonitio ad filium spiritalem attributed to Saint Basil), Alcuin's Liber de Virtutibus et Vitiis, the Penitential of Halitgar of Cambrai (the first two books of which are a patristic florilegium), and the Diadema monachorum of Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel.²⁸

Turville-Petre has shown how works such as these were systematically plundered by preachers, and how, at times, whole sermons were manufactured by weaving together commonplaces and citations from earlier writings.²⁹ Such compositions could reasonably be regarded as small florilegia in themselves, but commonplace manuals often played a role in the composition of less complex mosaics as well. Jean Leclercq has argued that florilegia were especially important to the monastic writer. By contrast with the libri sententiarum of the urban schools, in which, Leclercq says, quotations from the Fathers, councils and the classics were combined to serve as "a veritable arsenal of auctoritates"³⁰, the monastic florilegia

... grew out of spiritual reading. The monk would copy out texts he had enjoyed so as to savor them at leisure and use them anew as subjects for private meditation. The monastic florilegium not only originated in the monk's spiritual reading but always remained closely associated with it.³¹

Through the habitual contemplation of certain favourite texts, a writer could appropriate for his own use, and, as it were, "make his own" whole phrases, lines, even entire passages from patristic authors. Leclercq observes, for instance, that in some of the writings of the Benedictine mystic John of Fécamp († 1078),

... it is difficult to detect what is original and what comes from the Fathers. The truth is that everything is his and, at one and the same time, everything is the Fathers'. He said himself: Dicta mea, dicta Patrum.³²

In fact, it would not be untrue to say that this could have been the motto of the vast majority of religious writers of the later Middle Ages. The penitential homily examined by Joan Turville-Petre, which is literally a cento of patristic commonplaces, is an extreme example of this sentiment put into practice; but the dicta Patrum could also be manipulated in more humble ways. A single citation from a patristic author could easily become associated with a particular topic and circulate independently as a kind of "patristic proverb". There is an interesting example of the use of one such phrase, isolated from its original context, in one of the many exhortatory sermons in Sthom. whose sources have not yet been thoroughly investigated.

Sthom. 208/1-215/17 is a somewhat rambling sermon which touches on a wide variety of topics: the power of the Holy Spirit, the importance of resisting temptation, Man's service to God, his exile from heaven, the virtues of faith and hope, love of the Creator and of one's neighbour, the perils of evil thoughts, intemperate speech, and numerous other sins and malpractices -- pride, envy, disobedience, gluttony, drunkenness, lechery, wrath, impatience, vain worldly tristitia, backbiting, and lewdness. Not content to speak in generalities, this sermonist makes special mention of incontinence as the favourite vice of his own countrymen (nor do the failings of his Norwegian neighbours escape mention, 212/35-38):

Licams loste a þessu lande es hafþr í róþom a miþil manna
at gamne svasem ofdrykcia í norvege. Epa capp miþil manna.
þat es gratanda es allt miklom gráte. epa ellegar beR þat
at eilifa qvql.

Among this great multitude of sins, the preacher also deplores the
behaviour of those who do good works only in the hope of receiving praise
or payment. This, he says, will not save them from God's judgement (212/
24-31):

Enge maþr kycr ne dárþr má flóia dóm guþs. Hegóma dýrþ oc
vegsemp þessa heíms scolom vér flóia. afþui at þeir es þat
vilia hafa fyr verc sín góþ. þeir hafa tekna æmbon þá es
þeir mono. Marger meN gera verc góþ. oc bera fram mikit
meínláte. í fþstom oc í bþnom fyr monnom oc vilia þat lofat
lata vera af monnom. oc sic meþ fé góðða. þeim ero verc í
hþNdom sem þeir bere dust í vínDe.

This expressive figure also occurs in Nhom., in the translation of
Alcuin's Liber de Virtutibus et Vitiis, chapter 10, "De humilitate":

Nhom. 8/33-9/6, "Vmm litilláte"
... því lágre sem hværr varór af
siolfum sér. þvi mæiri er hann
í augliti guós. En dramlátr
maór þvi dyrlegre sem hann sýn-
isc með mænnum. þvi hærfi-legre
varór hann fyrí guói. En sa er
gerer góð varc fyrir utan litil-
láte hann ber mold í vindi. Hvat
drambar ioró ok asca. þvi at
draífisc af vindi ofmetnaór [sic]
þat er sýnisc saman samnat í
fæstum ok í alm(o)sogþoe.³³

PL 101, 620B
Quantum quis humilior erit de
seipso, tanto major erit in con-
spectu Dei. Superbus vero quanto
gloriosior apparet inter homines,
tanto dejectior erit ante Deum.
Qui enim sine humilitate bona
opera agit, in ventum pulverem
portat. Quid superbit terra et
cinis, dum vento superbiæ dis-
pergitur, quod jejuniis et elee-
mosynis congregare videtur?

And a similar turn of phrase is found in chapter 25 of the same work:

Nhom. 23/29-24/14, "Umm manna lof"
 Þvi mælte drottinn sialfr umm noccora þa er olmoso gera eða bønir eða fastur. at þeir take lof af monnum. [Satt segi ek yör, tóku þeir verkkaup sitt. Sá er til þess gerir, hvatki er hann vinnr góð, at hann lofisk af monnum] þa er þat værccaup hans er hann læitaðe. ok man hann ænnigrar ombunar vatta af guði. Þvi at hann gerði æigi gott fyrir hans æst. hælðr fyrir toma røsne manlægs lofs ... Sa maðr er syniz gera gott. ok girnisc hann at lica fyrir þat hælðr monnum en guði. til onyz starfar hann. ok sér hann í vindi.³⁴

The lines from the Sthom. sermon cited above would seem to borrow ideas from both of these passages. The reminiscence of Matthew 6:2-18 in the Icelandic homily corresponds more closely to Alc. VV, cap. 25:

Sthom. 212/26-29
 ... þeir es þat vilja hafa fyrir verc sín góð. þeir hafa tekna æmbon þá es þeir mono. Marger meN gera verc góð. oc bera fram mikit meínláte. í fðstom oc í bñnom fyrir monnom oc vilja þat lofat láta vera af monnom ...

PL 101, 631D-632A, "De humana laude non quærenda":
 Ideo ipse Dominus dixit de quibusdam, qui eleemosynas faciunt, vel orationes et jejunia, ut ab hominibus laudem accipiant: Amen dico vobis, receperunt mercedem suam (Matth. VI,2). Qui pro eo bonum quodlibet facit, ut ab hominibus laudetur, hæc est merces illius quam quæsivit, et nullam a Deo sperare habet retributionem; quia pro ejus amore non fecit, sed pro vana humanæ laudis jactantia ... Qui bona agere videtur, et per hæc non Deo sed hominibus placere cupit, in vanum laborat, et in ventum seminat.

Nhom. 23/29-24/2
 Þvi mælte drottinn sialfr umm noccora þa er olmoso gera eða bønir eða fastur. at þeir take lof af monnum. [Satt segi ek yör, tóku þeir verkkaup sitt. Sá er til þess gerir, hvatki er hann vinnr góð, at hann lofisk af monnum]³⁵ þa er þat værccaup hans er hann læitaðe. ok man hann ænnigrar ombunar vatta af guði ...

The reference to "bearing dust in the wind" in Alc. VV cap. 10 offers, however, a more striking parallel with the phrase, "þeir bera dust í vindi", in the Icelandic sermon than does the "sowing" figure used in Alc. VV cap. 25. It is easiest to examine the background of each of these passages from Alcuin's treatise separately, beginning with chapter 10 and the phrase, "in ventum pulverem portat".

The editor of Alc. VV in PL 101, Frobenius Forster (Ratisbon, 1777), notes that this chapter "pars est sermonis 297 S. Aug."³⁶ The Maurist editors of the text to which Forster refers, Ps. Augustine sermo 297, "De Humilitate et Timore Domini" (PL 39, 2313-15, sec. 1, cf. esp. 23/4A), assume, however, that Alcuin is the source for most of the sermon rather than vice versa.³⁷ Luitpold Wallach has argued convincingly that this assumption is incorrect, and that many of the pseudo-Augustinian homilies predate Alcuin's treatise and were used by him as sources.³⁸ The comparison of beneficence without humility to "bearing dust in the wind" is, however, older than both Alcuin and the sermons in the Appendix Augustini.

The phrase, "in ventum pulverem portat", is used twice by Gregory the Great with reference to the sin of vainglory. In his seventh homily on the gospels, "Dominica quarta in adventu Domini" on John 1:19-28, two citations from the Book of Samuel -- I Sam. 15:17, "Nonne cum parvulus esses in oculis tuis, caput te constitui in tribubus Israel?", and II Sam. 6:22, "Ludam et vilior fiam plus quam factus sum, et ero humilis in oculis meis." -- prompt the following comment (PL 76, 1103A):

... Si ergo sancti viri etiam cum agunt fortia, de semetipsis vilia sentiunt, quid in sua excusatione dicturi sunt qui sine opere virtutis intumescunt? Sed etsi qualibet bona adsint opera, nulla sunt, nisi ex humilitate condiantur. Miranda quippe actio cum elatione non elevat, sed gravat. Qui enim sine humilitate virtutes congregat, in ventum pulverem portat; et unde aliquid ferre cernitur, inde deterius cæcatur.

Again, in his commentary on the Penitential Psalms, discussing Psalm 37:3, Gregory emphasizes that both chastity without humility and humility without chastity are unacceptable to God (PL 79, 569B-C):

... Una enim virtus sine altera, aut omnino nulla est, aut minima. Si enim aut castitatem humilitas deserat, vel humilitatem castitas derelinquat, cum Deus detestetur tam superbiam, quam immunditiam, quomodo oculis ejus accepta erit castitas elata, vel humilitas immunda? Non enim bona accepta sunt Deo,

quæ malorum admistione maculantur; quia modicum fermentum totam massam corrumpit (I Cor. V, 6); et qui in uno offendit, multa bona perdit; et qui sine humilitate virtutes congregat, quasi in ventum pulverem portat.

Although this particular turn of phrase seems to be of Gregory's own devising, the use of this sort of imagery to describe vain speech or futile activity is, of course, no innovation. Many examples of similar metaphors can be found in classical Latin literature:

Catullus, Carmina, ed. R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1958), LXX, 3-4

... sed mulier cupido quod dicit amanti,
in uento et rapida scribere oportet aqua.

Lucretius, De Rerum Natura, ed. J. Martin (Leipzig, 1963), IV, 929-31

Sed quibus hæc rebus novitas confiat, et unde
perturbari anima et corpus languescere possit,
expediam: tu fac ne ventis verba profundam.

Ovid, Amores, ed. E.J. Kenney (Oxford, 1961), I, 41-2

lentus es, an somnus, qui te male perdat, amantis
uerba dat in uentos aure repulsa tua?³⁹

But closer analogues for Gregory's phrase are found in certain scriptural verses:

- | | |
|--------------|--|
| Psalm 1:4-5 | Non sic impii, non sic;
Sed <u>tanquam pulvis quem proicit ventus a facie terrae.</u>
Ideo non resurgent impii in iudicio,
Neque peccatores in concilio iustorum |
| Psalm 17:43 | Et comminam eos <u>ut pulverem ante faciem venti;</u>
Ut lutum platearum delebo eos. ⁴⁰ |
| Psalm 34:5 | Fiant <u>tanquam pulvis ante faciem venti,</u>
Et angelus Domini coarctans eos. |
| Wisdom 5:15 | Quoniam spes impii <u>tanquam lanugo est quae a vento tollitur;</u>
Et tanquam spuma gracilis quae a procella dispergitur,
Et tanquam fumus qui a vento diffusus est ... |
| Isaiah 17:13 | Sonabunt populi sicut sonitus aquarum inundantium,
Et increpabit eum, et fugiet procul;
Et rapietur <u>sicut pulvis montium a facie venti,</u>
Et sicut turbo coram tempestate. ⁴¹ |

The "dust in the wind" metaphor also recalls a series of biblical verses in which man is reminded of his humble origins in the earth to which he must at last return:

Genesis 3:19 ... quia pulvis es et in pulverem reverteris.⁴²

Psalm 102:14 Quoniam ipse cognovit figmentum nostrum;
Recordatus est quoniam pulvis sumus.

Psalm 145:4 Exhibit spiritus eius, et revertetur in terram
suam;
In illa die peribunt omnes cogitationes eorum.

Ecclesiastes 5:14-15 Sicut egressus est nudus de utero matris
suae, sic revertetur,
Et nihil auferet secum de labore suo.
Miserabilis prorsus infirmitas:
Quomodo venit, sic revertetur.
Quid ergo prodest ei quod laboravit in
ventum?

Wisdom 2:3 Qua extincta, cinis erit corpus nostrum,
Et spiritus diffundetur tanquam mollis aer;
Et transibit vita nostra tanquam vestigium nubis:

Ecclesiasticus 10:9 Quid superbit terra et cinis?⁴³

The origins of the phrase cited from Alc. VV cap. 25, "Qui bona agere videtur, et per hanc non Deo, sed hominibus placere cupit, in vanum laborat, et in ventum seminat", are somewhat more vague. The passage is reduplicated in Defensor's Liber Scintillarum, cap. 20, "De vana gloria" (ed. H.-M. Rochais, CCSL 117 [1957], 93⁴⁴), where it is attributed to Gregory. The image of "sowing in the wind" is, however, omitted by Defensor:

17. GREGORIUS DIXIT: Sancti non solum gloriam supra modum suum omnino non appetunt sed etiam hoc ipsi refugiunt quod sese habere sciunt.⁴⁵

18. Tunc ueraciter hic [sic] quod agit homo bonum est, quando ei coplacere concupiscit ha quo est. Qui bona agere uidetur, et per hoc non Deo, sed hominibus, placere desiderat, in uanum laborat.

Rochais identifies the source for section 18 as a passage in one of Gregory's Homiliae in Ezechielem (I.4.4, PL 76, 817A), where he comments on Ezechiel 1:11, "Et facies eorum et pennae eorum extentae desuper":

Facies et pennæ extentæ desuper describuntur, quia omnis intentio omnisque contemplatio sanctorum super se tendit, ut illud possit adipisci quod in cælestibus appetit. Sive enim bono operi, sive vero invigilet contemplationi, tunc veraciter hoc quod agit bonum est, quando ei complacere concupiscit a quo est. Nam qui bona agere videtur, et per hæc non Deo, sed hominibus placere desiderat, intentionis suæ faciem deorsum premit.

The phrase, "in ventum seminat", would appear therefore to be Alcuin's own addition, possibly influenced by a reminiscence of Hoseah 8:7, "Qui ventum seminabunt, Et turbinem metent."

The "dust in the wind" metaphor enjoyed a considerable popularity in the middle ages, finding its way into a variety of texts and contexts, either directly from Gregory or through Alcuin or some other intermediary. Defensor includes the phrase in his Liber Scintillarum, but attributes it to Isidore (CCSL 117, 20, cap. 4,35):

HISIDORUS DIXIT: Qui enim sine humilitatem [sic] uirtutis [sic] congregat, in uento puluerem portat.

The passage from Gregory's Advent homily in which the formula first occurs was also included in Paterius' Liber Testimoniorum (a collection of excerpts from Gregory's works arranged according to scriptural citations) under I Reg. XV, 17 (PL 79, 792 B-C).⁴⁶ Here are some other witnesses which give an idea of the popularity of Gregory's proverbium:

Rabanus Maurus († 856), Homiliae, 54 "De Timore Dei et Vera Humilitate" (based on Alcuin, De Virtutibus et Vitiis, chapters 10 and 15⁴⁷), PL 110, 100B:

Quanto quis humilior erit de seipso, tanto major erit in conspectu Dei: superbus vero quanto gloriosior apparet inter homines, tanto dejectior erit ante Deum. Qui enim sine humilitate bona opera agit, in ventum pulverem portat.

Helgaldus (of Fleury-sur-Loire, eleventh century), Epitoma Vitæ Regis Roberti Pii, PL 141, 916:

Is quippe rex Deo dilectus Robertus semper meminit sanctæ legis, quia memor fuit operis Dei in omnibus viis suis. Sciebat etenim scriptum: "Scientia, virtus; custos virtutis,

humilitas sancta." Et illud beati papæ Gregorii: "Qui sine humilitate virtutes congregat, quasi in ventum pulverem portat." Legerat quod dixerat quidam ex Patribus: "Omnis labor sine humilitate vanus est; humilitatis signum dat regnum coelorum."

Distinctiones Monasticae, s.v. Puluis, ed. A. Wilmart, "Un Répertoire d'Exégèse composé en Angleterre vers le début du XIII siècle", Mémorial Lagrange (1940), 330/35-37:

Puluis, quia oculum turbat, uidetur superbiam significare uel inanem gloriam, unde beatus Gregorius: "Qui sine humilitate uirtutes congregat quasi qui in uento puluerem portat."

Vices and Virtues ... A Middle-English Dialogue of about 1200, ed. F. Holthausen, E.E.T.S., O.S. 89 & 159 (1888), 47/23-49/1 (preamble to discussion of humility):

... Nu me cump on iþanke an forbisne þe sanctus Gregorius us seið: Qui uirtutes sine humilitate congregat, quasi in uento puluerem portat, "Se ðe gadereð mihtes wiðuten eadmodnesse," he seið, "he is ilich ðo manne ðe berð dust amidewarde ðe winde."

Ancrene Wisse (c. 1200), ed. J.R.R. Tolkien, E.E.T.S., O.S. 249 (1962), 143/11-144/19:⁴⁸

O þis wise eadmodieð & meokið ow seoluen. Bernardus. Superbia est appetitus proprie excellencie. Humilitas contemptus eiusdem. ƿ alswa as prude is wilnunge of wurðschipe. riht alswa þer togeines. eadmodnesse is forkeastunge of wurðschipe. & luue of lutel hereword & of lahnesse. þis þeaw is alre þeawene moder. & streoneð ham alle. þe is umben wið uten hire to gederin gode þeawes. he bereð dust i þe wind as sein gregoire seið. Qui sine humilitate uirtutes congregat. quasi qui in uento puluerem portat.

Speculum Gy de Warewyke (c. 1300), ed. G.L. Morrill, E.E.T.S., E.S. 75 (1898), ll. 657-678:

Ac, if þu coupest knowe and se
 Þe uertu of humilite,
 For noþing þu noldest shone,
 Ac hit sholde euere wid þe wone:

Off alle uertuz it is hext,
 And godes wille it is next.
Sein Gregory berof bereþ witnes,
Pat muchel spekeb of sobenes:
Qui sine humilitate uirtutes ceteras congregat, est quasi,
qui in vento puluerem portat.
Man, þouh þu do muchel god,
But þou be meke and þolemod,
Sein Gregory seip, þat holi clerk,
Pat muchel on ydel is þat wer.
Hit fareþ bi swiche, as we finde,
As who-so bereþ poudre in grete winde;
 For, bere he neuere so muche,
 Hit fleþ away ful lihtliche.
 Off man hit fareþ riht so,
 For, gode dedes þouh he do,
 Many and fele in vch a side,
 Þer may non wid him abide
 Bute he haue humilite,
 Away þeih wolen fro him fle.⁴⁹

Gesta Romanorum (c. 1450), ed. S.J.H. Herrtage, E.E.T.S., E.S.
 33 (1879), 41-42:

... Also the kyng had not with him his fader, neither his moder;
 by the fadir, that is cause of oure generacion, is vndirstond
 mekenesse or humilite, withoure which þere abideth no vertue
 in a man, as seith Seint Gregory, Siquis ceteras virtutes sine
humilitate portat, quasi in ventum portat [sic], This is, who so euer
þat berith othir vertues withoute humilite, he berith hem as in
to þe wynde, or as men berith poudir in þe wynde.⁵⁰

It is not unlikely that the model for the "dust in the wind" phrase
 in Sthom. 208/1-215/17 was chapter 10 of Alc. VV (possibly even a
 vernacular translation of this work).⁵¹ But the author of the Icelandic
 sermon may also have had access to a Gregorian florilegium of some kind.
 He makes use of a passage from Book Four of the Dialogues, on the allegory
 of the cave and the three types of souls created by God.⁵² And Karel
 Vrátný pointed out that the discussion of Matthew 24:20 at Sthom. 215/1ff.
 is based on part of Gregory's twelfth homily In Evangelia.⁵³ Rochais
 notes that many medieval commonplace books were compiled from the works

of a single author, and prominent among these were collections of Gregorian "sentences":

En la littérature chrétienne, ce sont surtout Augustin et Grégoire qu'utilisent les compilations de ce genre. Généralement le premier a servi de source à des florilèges de caractère plutôt dogmatique ou apologétique, le second à des recueils ascétiques ... Quand on sait, de plus, que les sentences d'Isidore -- si souvent pillées elles aussi -- ne sont qu'un démarquage de Grégoire, on mesure l'importance qu'il faut attacher à l'étude des œuvres du grand Pape pour une meilleure intelligence des florilèges ascétiques du moyen âge.⁵⁴

However, even if the snippets from Gregory used by this homilist were familiar to him from a Gregorian florilegium (and about this one can only speculate), his "citations" may be not so much transcriptions from the written page as reminiscences of a favourite text, fixed in his mind through habitual reading and meditation. In the dedicatory epistle to his Liber de Virtutibus et Vitiis, Alcuin asks Count Guido to "reread often" and even to commit to memory select passages from his treatise:

Nhom. 1/12-14, 18-20

En ec scyrða scipan þessa mals
sér-hværið upphafum til þes at
min mál mege auðvællega festasc
í minningu yðarrar goðfýsi ...
... Sva sem þu batt mic vandlega
mildrar kenningar. sva bið ec
þic at þu later þer sóma at lesa
oft þa hina samu kenning.

PL 101, 613D, 614C

Singulis siquidem hujus sermonis
seriem distinxi capitulis, quatenus
facilius vestrae devotionis memoria
hæc mea dicta inhærerere potuissent ...
... Sicut meas diligenter flagitasti
piæ exhortationis litterulas, ita
te humiliter deosco, ut easdem
sæpius relegere digneris.⁵⁵

A Scandinavian reader of Alcuin's handbook, or of a similar "sententiary", would undoubtedly have followed this advice too -- "Cotidie lectitare et lecta frequenter in corde revolvere," in the words of John of Fécamp.⁵⁶ Jean Leclercq has considered the background and the consequences of this approach to study:

The monks, trained to the life of prayer by the liturgy in which the Church tirelessly repeats the same formulas, the same one hundred and fifty Psalms, could, without taking them for granted, read and reread the most beautiful pages of the Bible and of the Fathers. The florilegia, in which reading and prayer became as one, provided the best possible means for the kind of meditation closest to their hearts, a

means completely devoid of any method. Consequently it is understandable that generations of contemplatives looked upon them as their staff of life, and copied them over endlessly, scarcely ever knowing whose writings they were. They were no longer the sayings of this or that author; they were the anonymous pronouncements of the Fathers of the Church: dicta Patrum.⁵⁷

The early Icelandic homilists strove to make them dicta Islandorum as well.

1. N.F.S. Grundtvig, Værker i Udvalg, ed. Georg Christensen and Hal Koch, vol. 2 (1941), "Danne-Virke III: Om Ordsprog", 198.
2. See Aristotle, Rhetorica, trans. W. Rhys Roberts, The Works of Aristotle translated into English, vol xi (1946), II.21 (1394a/19 - 1395b/19).
3. The Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian, III, Books VII-IX, trans. H.E. Butler, Loeb Classical Library (1966), VIII, iv, 29. It may be an indication of their popularity that the author of the Rhetorica ad Herennium (trans. H. Caplan, Loeb Classical Library [1977], IV, xvii, 25) urges that moderation be exercised in the use of sententiae: "Sententias interponi raro convenit, ut rei actores, non vivendi praeceptores videamur esse. Cum ita interponentur, multum adferent ornamenti."
4. Quintilian VIII, v, 1: "Sententiam veteres, quod animo sensissent, vocaverunt." Cf. Isidore of Seville, Etymologiae (ed. W.M. Lindsay, 1911), XI, i, 13: "Nam inde animus sensus dicitur pro his quae sentit, unde et sententia nomen accepit."
5. Quintilian, VIII, v, 3: "...nomen ex eo acceperunt, quod similes sunt consiliis aut decretis."
6. On the habit of choosing "sentences" from great authors see, e.g., Rhetorica Ad Herennium IV, iv, 7.
7. E.R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, trans. W.R. Trask, (1973), 58.

8. Ibid., 59. Hans Walther's massive collection of Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters (*Carmina Medii Aevi Posterioris Latina*, II [1963-]) is an impressive testimony to the medieval enthusiasm for proverbs and pithy sayings.
9. On the place of collections of proverbs in classical education see, e.g., Henri Marrou, A History of Education in Antiquity, trans. George Lamb (1956), 54, 88, 197-198, 156 (and note 8, p.400), 172-175, 161-162 (and note 4, p. 404), 270, and Stanley F. Bonner, Education in Ancient Rome (1977), 172-176.
10. On the fusion of classical and scriptural traditions in medieval proverb-lore see, e.g., Archer Taylor, The Proverb (1931, rpt. 1962), 60-61: "...Such authorities, the Bible, the classical poet, and the Church Father, contributed to the success of the proverb, and he would be brave indeed who would endeavour to assign to each his proper share."

Cf. Nicholas Orme, English Schools in the Middle Ages (1973) 98-100, 107, 109, 110, 250 (on the juxtaposition of local proverbs and classical citations in the elementary vulgaria). See also F. Seiler, Deutsche Sprichwörterkunde, *Handbuch des deutschen Unterrichts an höheren Schulen* IV, 3 (1922), 23, 68f., 77ff.
11. Matthew of Vendôme, Ars Versificatoria (written c. 1170-75) I.16, ed. E. Faral, Les Arts Poétiques du XIIe et du XIIIe Siècle (1924), 113:

Processione generalis sententiae sive proverbii. Ut aliquis utatur zeumatico principio vel secundum ipozeusim, praetermittendum est generale proverbium, id est communis sententia, cui consuetudo fidem attribuit, opinio communis assensum accommodat, incorruptae veritatis integritas adquiescit.

Geoffrey of Vinsauf, Poetria Nova (composed between 1208 and 1213), 126ff., ed. and trans. E. Gallo, op. cit., 20-21:

Si pars prima velit majus diffundere	If you should wish the
lumen,	opening to send forth a
Thematis intacta serie, sententia	greater light without dis-
sumpta	turbing the natural order
Ad speciale nihil declinet, sed	of the theme, let the senti-
caput edat	ment you begin with not sink
Altius ad quoddam generale...	to any particular statement
	but rather raise its head
	to a general pronouncement.

See also Geoffrey's Documentum de arte versificandi I,7 (Faral, 266), II,1,5ff. (Faral, 269ff.). Gallo notes (139, n.21) that Matthew passed the notion of using a proverb in the introduction on to Eberhard the German (Laborintus, 293-298, Faral, 347), and Geoffrey transmitted the same idea to John of Garland (Poetria, see Giovanni Mari, "Poetria magistri Johannis anglici de arte prosayca metrica et rithmica," Romanische Forschungen XIII [1902], 905-906). See also Faral, 58f.

12. Gallo, 140. See Ibid. 140-150 passim. The enthymeme is an abbreviated syllogism of which the "major premise" is often a proverb. Gallo gives the following example from Aristotle's Rhetoric (trans. Roberts, 1394b/1-7): "There is no man in all things prosperous" is a maxim; but, if followed by the phrase, "For all are slaves of money or of chance", it becomes the major premise of an enthymeme.

Gallo cites an illustration of the epicheireme from Cicero's De Inventione I. 58-59:

The epicheireme is an enthymeme expanded into an explicitly syllogistic form in which both the major and the minor premises are proven by supporting reasons. The epicheireme

thus consists of five parts:

Major: Things that are done by design are managed better than those which are governed without design.

Reason: The house that is managed in accordance with a reasoned plan, is in every respect better equipped and furnished than one which is governed in a haphazard way with total lack of design.

Minor: Of all things, none is better governed than the universe.

Reason: For the risings and the settings of the constellations keep a fixed order.

Conclusion: Therefore the universe is administered by design.

Gallo observes (142, n.26), "Notice that the major is proverb-like, and that the reason supporting the major is an example."

A convenient summary of the relationship between the sententia and the chria is provided by Isidore of Seville (Etymologiae II, xi, 2). While the former is simply a general statement, the latter substantiates such a statement by referring to a particular situation involving a particular person:

Sententia est dictum impersonale, ut (Ter. Andr. 68):

Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit.

Huic si persona fuerit adiecta, chria erit, ita: "offendit Achilles Agamemnonem vera dicendo", "Metrophanes promeruit gratiam Mithridatis obsequendo." Nam inter chriam et sententiam hos interest, quod sententia sine persona profertur, chria sine persona nunquam dicitur. Vnde si sententiae persona adiciatur fit chria; si detrahatur, fit sententia.

13. See Gallo, 144 and refs. Cf., however, C.S. Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic to 1400 (1928, rpt. 1959), 191-2, on John of

Garland's unbridled enthusiasm for the use of proverbs in letter-writing. James Murphy (Rhetoric in the Middle Ages [1974], 234), suggests that disagreements in the manuals on dictamen concerning the use of the proverb perhaps arose because "the theory of proverbs in the medieval ars dictaminis is one that was of only tangential interest to the theorist and for that reason did not receive complete development". He adds, however (234-235), that "the exordial position of proverbia in letters was clearly established by the early thirteenth century, and very little theoretical discussion was devoted to the subject after that". He also notes that collections of proverbs often circulated in association with some of the artes dictaminis (the Candelabrum of Bene of Florence, for instance, contains 171 proverbs). See further C.H. Haskins, "The Life of Medieval Students as Illustrated by their Letters", American Historical Review 3 (1898), 204; s.a., The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century (1927, rpt., 1976), 143-144; W.A. Pantin, "A Medieval Treatise on Letter-writing, with examples, from the Rylands Latin Ms. 394", Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 13 (1929), 326-82; Bjarne Berulfsen, Kulturtradisjon fra en Storhetstid (1948), 116ff.

14. ed. T.M. Charland, Artes Praedicandi: Contribution à l'Histoire de la Rhétorique au Moyen Âge (1936), ch. 31, 268-272.
15. See Gallo, 145-146; Charland, 143-144. Thus, for instance, to introduce the theme "for those who love God all things work together for the good" by enthymeme, one might argue a contrario from an antithetical proverb:

For those who hate God, all things work together toward

ill. Therefore, for those who love God, all things work

together for the good. (See Gallo, 146; Charland, 144 and 271.)

16. John of Wales, Ars prædicandi, Ms. Bodl. 571, fol. 165v, a, and 166r, a, cited and discussed by Siegfried Wenzel, Verses in Sermons (1978), 96. Wenzel notes that "John's exposition and examples are repeated verbatim in Ranulph Higden's Ars componendi sermones" (ed. M. Margaret Jennings, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Bryn Mawr, 1970, 107ff.).
17. Walther (7248), 15597, 19844; cf. 19847, 19863ff., 26357, Omne quod est rarum, carius esse solet / dicunt homines fore carum / fit vulgo iudice carum, etc.; A. Otto, Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten der Römer (1890), 1507 (p.294), Rarum esse oportet, quod diu carum velis (and R. Häussler, ed. Nachträge zu A. Otto, Sprichwörter... [1968], 63, 78, 116, 205, 243, 286); Tilley T 145, That which is rare is dear; Whiting M 307; and the etymology of caritas given in the Irish Liber de Numeris (ed. R.E. McNally, Munich dissertation, 1957.-- s.a., The Bible in the Early Middle Ages, Woodstock Papers. No. 4 [1959], 49), "Caritas quid est? Cara res est, quia in mundo rara est." See too Walther 26016 (Geoffrey of Vinsauf, Poetria Nova 1230), Quod sapit, insipidum vitiosa frequentia reddit.

It is also interesting to compare Páls saga biskups, k.14, Bisk. I, 140/10-13:

Páll biskup lét sjaldan, nema þá er hátfór væri,
kenna kenningar hjá því sem áór var, ok virði hann
þá enn öllum meira um vera, at sjaldan næði; en hann
lét nálíga hvern helgan dag tvær messur sýngja...

18. Gallo, for instance (140, n. 22), notes that "Geoffrey refers to the proverb as commune (Poetria Nova 185) and generale (180)". Cf. Matthew of Vendome, Ars Versificatoria, I.16, cit. above, n.11.

19. Gallo, 140.

20. "The Proverbs in the Ancren Riwe," MLN 29 (1934), 257.

21. Cf., for instance, Guibert de Nogent, Liber Quo Ordine Sermo Fieri Debeat (PL 156, 25C),

...solent etenim in tractatibus evangeliorum sententiæ
de Veteri Testamento adhibitæ auditores reddere magis
intentos...

and Alan's own "Lectulum Salomonis" (ed. Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny,
Alain de Lille: Textes Inédits [1965], 283),

Lectulus floridus est sacra Scriptura, que quasi
florum referta fragrantia [sic] diuersarum
sententiarum respirat aromata, in quo velud in
lecto conuiuui rex regum epulatur, dum per eum
fidelis populus sententiarum ferculis saginatur.

Cf. the analogous use of OWN atkvæði at, e.g., Nhom. 6/20-22 (Alc.
VV, PL 101, 618C), following a citation of Matt. 6:14:

...Þetta atkvæðe drottens lióðar	...Hæc vero domini <u>sententia</u>
myccla miscunn yfir oss. þeim er	magnam super nos misericor-
þat scilia retlega...	diam sonat his qui intelligere
	possunt.

See too Maríu saga, 22/19-22:

En í fyrsta versí í Magnificat þá mælti María drottning
svá: Miclar önd mín dróttin. Þetta atkvæði eða orótak
guós móður Marie er af mörgum minnr íhugat, en snilld
ritningarinnar skyllðar framburðarmanninn til at skýra...

For a general discussion of the wide range of meanings of the
term sententia see C.S. Lewis, Studies in Words (2nd ed., 1967),
138ff. On the exegetical differentiation of littera (the meaning
of the individual word), sensus (the superficial meaning of the text
of which it forms a part), and sententia (the deeper meaning of the
whole), see below n.29.

22. Harry Caplan ("Rhetorical Invention in Some Mediaeval Tractates on Preaching", Speculum 2 [1927], 291) reminds us that among his other works Alan himself wrote "a Summa quot modis, a preacher's dictionary, and a Liber Sententiarum, a book of aphorisms" (see PL 210, 229-253).
23. Rochais, "Florilèges", Dict. Sp. 5, 436.
24. "Sources of the Vernacular Homily in England, Norway, and Iceland", ANF 75 (1960), 168-182; "Translations of a Lost Penitential Homily", Traditio 19 (1963), 51-78.
25. "Sources...", 171. On the transmission of sources for Nhom. and Sthom. through florilegia cf. Walter, Lex. Lehn., 16-17:

Bei der lehrhaften Literatur ist im einzelnen schwer festzustellen, wann die lateinischen Schriften den Nordleuten bekannt geworden sind. Die beiden awn. Homilienbücher...enthalten viele Übersetzungen, ausserdem aber eine ganze Anzahl von Paraphrasen und eine Fülle von längeren und kürzeren Zitaten sowie Anspielungen, die nur jemand bemerkt, der in der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters ausgezeichnet bewandert ist. Hier sind noch viele Entdeckungen zu machen. Aber so nützlich es ist, wenn solche Identifizierungen gelingen, bedeutet es doch nicht, dass die Übersetzer der Homilien oder die einheimischen Verfasser, die solche Stücke verwenden, immer auch das ganze Werk des von ihnen benutzten Autors gekannt haben. Florilegien waren bei den geringen Publikations- und Vervielfältigungsmöglichkeiten unerlässliche Hilfsmittel, und durch Florilegien konnten eine Menge Autoren bekannt werden -- aber eben nicht mit ihrem ganzen Werk, sondern nur bruchstückhaft.

Cf., e.g., the practice of Bishop Guðmundr Arason (Saga Guðmundar... hin elzta, k.14, Bisk. I, 431/8-10): "Hann skoðaðe ok rannzsakaðe bēkr manna þar sem hann kom, ok hende af hvers bókum þat er hann hafðe eige áðr."

26. Revue Bénédictine 63 (1953), 246-291.
27. Ibid., 250.
28. Ibid., 250-253.
29. In her article, "Translations of a Lost Penitential Homily", she was able to reconstruct a putative Latin original for three closely related vernacular sermons -- Vercelli Homily 3 (ed. M. Förster, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa XII [1932], 53-71), Sthom. 61/1-64/16, and Homily 6 in Ms. Bodley 343 (ed. A.O. Belfour, E.E.T.S., O.S. 137, 50-58) -- by drawing solely on commonplace material available in popular doctrinal handbooks. The Latin sermon itself has since been discovered and edited by Helen L. Spencer, "Vernacular and Latin Versions of a Sermon for Lent: 'A Lost Penitential Homily' Found", MS 44 (1982), 271-305.

Even Ælfric of Eynsham, whose "careful compositions," Turville-Petre observes, "evidently superseded the scrapbook methods of less scholarly predecessors" ("Sources...", 172), could draw on as many as five patristic sources in composing a single sermon. (See Cyril Smetana, "Ælfric and the Early Medieval Homiliary", Traditio 15 [1959], 180 and note 4. Smetana later speaks admiringly of Ælfric's "art of concatenation", 184.) One might compare the circumspection of the compiler of Maríu Saga who describes his efforts to exploit numerous (and often contradictory) sources (38/8-12):

En þar, sem á þykkir greina í frásögnum heilagra feðra, þar er sá háttur tekinn af vitrum monnum, at segja hváratveggju frásögn, en deoma hvárki ómætt, en þó þykkir þat bjartast ok óerfiðast, at hafa fleiri manna vitni til máls sönnunar.

(cit. Gabriel Turville-Petre, "The Old Norse Homily on the Assumption and Maríu saga," Nine Norse Studies [1972], 116)

30. Leclercq, The Love of Learning and the Desire for God, trans. C. Misrahi (1977), 228. On the later history of the sententiae in medieval education and literature see also M. Grabmann, Die Geschichte der scholastischen Methode, vol.I (1909), 143ff. and 182ff., J. de Ghellinck, "Diffusion, utilisation et transmission des écrits patristiques", Gregorianum 14 (1933), 356-400, and s.a., Patristique et Moyen Age: Études d'histoire littéraire et doctrinale, vol.2 (1947), 7-9 and 181-377 passim. In the later middle ages, as the demands of urban schools and universities for extracts from patristic commentaries and exegetical works for lectio divina, doctrinal studies, and disputation became more exacting, the libri sententiarum take on the character of systematic compendia of Christian doctrine. This process culminates in the Quattuor Libri Sententiarum of Peter Lombard, the "Master of the Sentences", as G. Paré, A. Brunet, and P. Tremblay point out in their examination of the semantic evolution of the word sententia in La Renaissance du XIIe siècle: Les Écoles et l'Enseignement, Publications de l'Institut d'Études Médiévales d'Ottawa III (1933), Ch. 6, "Les 'Sommes de Sentences'," 267-74, esp. 269-270:

C'est par une autre voie, par la technique de l'étude textuelle (la lectio), que sententia va prendre un sens nouveau, sans lien direct avec la sententia-flos, un sens exégétique. On se rappelle quels sont, d'après Hugues de Saint-Victor, les éléments d'une explication de texte: la littera d'abord qui étudie les mots et leur enchaînement, le sensus, c'est-à-dire le sens obvie, la sententia, enfin, que fournit, par une attentive expositio, l'intelligence profonde qui est comme sous-entendue dans le texte.

Il ne paraît pas que cette nouvelle distinction sensus-sententia soit à rapprocher de l'ancienne

distinction des rhéteurs.... Il ne s'agit point en effet d'analyse de formes littéraires, mais d'exégèse idéologique; car nous sommes déjà au stade de la réflexion doctrinale, sinon à celui de la discussion dialectique. Sens fort par conséquent qui déteint sur le concept de l'ancienne defloratio. La compilation de "sentences" se transforme en collection organique d'opinions, commentées, motivées, systématisées: c'est le type de "sententiales" en vogue dans la première moitié du XII^e siècle, dans l'école de Laon, par exemple, et la Summa sententiarum comme le Liber sententiarum de Pierre Lombard montrent, chacun à leur manière, à quel point d'élaboration on en est arrivé. La vieille tradition de la defloratio d'Isidore, de Bède ou de Raban Maur, à laquelle tient encore un Guillaume de Saint-Thierry, est submergée par ce nouveau régime.

31. Leclercq, 229. See also same author, "Proverbes Monastiques," Studia Anselmiana, Fasc. XX, Analecta Monastica. Première Série (1948), 120-123, and "Anciennes Sentences Monastiques", Collectanea Ordinis Cisterciensium Reformatorum Annus XIV, Num.2 (1952), 117-124, and R.W. Southern, The Making of the Middle Ages (1953), 191ff. It has been suggested that both Ælfric and Wulfstan used commonplace books as aids in sermon-writing. See Mary Bateson, "A Worcester Cathedral Book of Ecclesiastical Collections Made About 1000 A.D.", English Historical Review X (1895), 712-731; Dorothy Bethurum, "Archbishop Wulfstan's Commonplace Book", Publications of the Modern Language Association of America 57 (1942), 916-929; Enid M. Raynes, "Ms. Boulogne-sur-Mer 63 and Ælfric", Medium Ævum 26 (1957), 65-73. Similarly, Hans Bekker-Nielsen has proposed that "it is not improbable that writers like Bergr [Sokkason] and Arngrímr [Brandsson] had, in the course of their study, first tried their hand at private

florilegia before compiling their ambitious sagas" ("On a Handlist of Saints' Lives in Old Norse", MS 24 [1962], 329).

32. Leclercq, The Love of Learning..., 231.

33. Cf. the parallel text preserved in the fifteenth-century Icelandic ms. AM 56 8vo, ed. Ole Widding, Alkuin De Virtutibus et Vitiis i norsk-islandsk overlevering, Ed. Arn., A 4 (1960), 66/1-7:

...dyrligri sem hann synizt með monnum því heruiligri
werðr hann firi gudi. Enn sáa er giorer god werk
án litillæti berr molld jwindi. Huad drambar jord ok
aska. þvíat dreifizt af windi ofmetnadar. þat er
synizt saman safnad j faustum ok j olmausu gædi.

34. The corresponding passage in the freer version of Alc. VV in AM 685 d 4to omits the sentence containing the "sowing in the wind" metaphor. See Widding, ed.cit., 110-112.

35. The section enclosed in square brackets is added by Indrebø; there is a hole in the ms. at this point. But cf. 685d 4to, ed.cit., 110/12-16:

...firi því mællti drottin so. þeir er gera aulmosur.
eda bæner. eda fostur til þess at þeir taki lof af
monnum. Satt segi ec ydr þeir taka þa verkkaup sitt.
Sa er firi því gerir gott þat sem hann gerir at hann
hafi lof af monnum þat er verkkaup hans sem hann
leitadi ok aungrar aumbonar ma hann vanta af gudi...

36. PL 101, 619, n.

37. PL 39, 2313, n.: "... Conflatus est ex cap. 10 et 15 operis Alcuini de Virtutibus et Vitiis."

38. See Wallach, Alcuin and Charlemagne: Studies in Carolingian History and Literature, Cornell Studies in Classical Philology. XXXII (1959, rev. rpt., 1968), ch. 12, "Alcuin on Virtues and Vices," 238-244.
Cf. Clavis Patrum 368, Ps. - Augustinus, Sermones Spurii.
39. For further examples see Otto, Die Sprichwörter..., pp. 364-366, and Eduard Margalits, Florilegium Proverbiorum Universae Latinitatis (1895), 522-523, s.v. ventus.
40. Cf. Der Wiener Psalter, ed. H. Uecker, Ed. Arn. B 27 (1980), 9:
"ok eg skal beygja þáá suosem dúpt fyrir asíonu vinds suðsem leifr gatna eg skal afmáá þáá."
41. For early English versions of these scriptural sententiae see Whiting D 443, "Like Dust (powder) in the wind."

With the metaphor ventus superbiæ used in Alc. VV cap. 10, cf., e.g., Rabanus Maurus, De Universo IX. 25, "De ventis", PL 111, 281D-282: "...Item venti superbiæ spiritus intelliguntur, velut ... ibi ... Qui nititur mendaciis, hic pascitur ventis [Prov. 10:4]."; Alan of Lille, Distinctiones Dictionum Theologicalium, s.v. ventus (PL 210, 995C-D): "Dicitur superbia, unde David [Ps. 1:4-5]"; Ibid., s.v. pulvis (915 D): "Dicitur peccator, quia, sicut pulvis ... levi flatu venti dispergitur, ita peccator ... levi flatu superbiæ dispergitur ..." The phrase vindr ofmetnað[alr] at Nhom. 9/4-5 finds a parallel in the metaphor ofmetnaðar veðr used, again with reference to the vitiation of good works through vanity, in an Embertide sermon preserved in Sthom., Hauksbók, and AM 114a 4to (see below, pp. 398ff.):

Sthom. 36/33-37/1 (Hauksbók [1892-96], 174/8-11;

A. Holtsmark, "En gammel norsk homilie i AM 114a qv.",

ANF 46 [1930], 262-263):

...Af þui holdom ver ena .iiijþo. imbrodaga. at hirpasc mege góþgerningar órer i litelléte. oc i stapfeste þeir

er fręþosc af orþom guþs. at eige bęre fra oss
ofmenapar [Hauksbók, ofmetnaðar; 114a 4to,
ofmettnadar] veþr a voxt þaN er vér sęmnorþom
i góþom verkum.

The author of the Middle English tract, Jacob's Well (ed. A. Brandeis, E.E.T.S., O.S. 115 [1900], 74/6-12) makes use of another Gregorian parable to make the same point:

Seynt gregorie seyth, libro 10, moralium, xxxvj.
 capitulo, þat an ypocrite, a popholy man, is lyche
 an irane; for an eran, whan he hath longe trauayled,
 & myche, to makyn his web, þanne comyth a lytel wynd
 and blowyth away all to-gedere. Ryzt so, an ypocryte,
 whan he hath gretly & longe trauayled, & vexid his
 body in penauns & in opere holy werkys, to ben
 holdyn holy, þanne comyth a lytel wynd of mannys
mowth, þat is, a lytel preysing, & blowyth away all
his mede. Þerfore, be ze nozt as ypocrytes. Mat vj.

42. It is tempting to conjecture that the variant readings in the Icelandic versions of the Gregorian proverb -- Sthom. 212/31, "...sem þeir bere dust í vínDe," and Nhom. 9/3-4, "...hann ber mold í vindi" -- may be due to reminiscences of Gen. 3:19 in, respectively, the Vulgate ("Quia pulvis es, et in pulverem reverte and the Vetus Latina ("Terra es, et in terram ibis"). The translations of the verse found in the early homilies follow the Old La version (see Kirby, Biblical Quotation I, 7: Sthom. 26/32 "ver erom iorþ. oc scolom eN í iorþ fara"; Nhom. 73/30, "hann er mold hann scal í mold fara"; Leifar 27/14, "Iorþ ert tu. oc scaldtu í iorþ fara," cf. Gr. 29 in Ev., PL 76, 1218 B, "Terra es, et in terram ibis."). The rendering found at Stjórn 38/24-25, however, unites both readings in a word-pair: "þiat þu ert dupt ok molld ok í þa sōmu molld skalldtu aptr huerfa" (see Kirby's note, Biblical Quotation, II, 135; cf. Peter Comestor, Historia Scholastica,

PL 198, 1074 C, "...quia terra es, et in terram ibis.").

One might compare Ælfric's "double-barreled" rendering of Gen. 3:19 in his First Series homily for Ascension Day, based on Gr. 29 in Ev. (CH I. 300/8-9): "Ðu eart eorðe, and þu gewenst to eorðan. Ðu eart dust, and þu gewenst to duste." James Cross suggests that "Ælfric first translates Gregory's words, then repeats the verse in terms of his own recollection of the Vulgate" ("More Sources for Two of Ælfric's Catholic Homilies," Anglia 86 [1968], 73, n.28).

43. This verse is cited directly after the "dust in the wind" phrase in Alc. VV, ch.10 (Nhom. 9/4, "Hvat drambar iorð ok asca."). For other examples of the use of such verses in connection with exhortations to humility see, e.g., Sthom. 52/24-25 (Ecclesiasticus 10:9, cf. pseudo-Augustine 118, PL 39, 1979D); Sthom. 26/31-32 (Genesis 3:19); Sthom. 182/5-8 (Genesis 3:19). It is at least possible that Gregory may have had in mind the popular etymology of humilitas -- ab humo. See, for example,

Varro, De Lingua Latina..., ed. G. Goetz and F. Schoell (Leipzig, 1910), V,23:

...terra, ut putant, eadem et humus; ...et quod terra sit humus, ideo is humatus mortuus, qui terra obrutus...et dicitur humilior, qui ad humum demissior, infimus humillimus, quod in mundo infima humus...

Additional scholia to Servius' Commentary on the Aeneid, in Servii Grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii Carmina Commentarii, ed. G. Thilo and H. Hagen (Leipzig, 1881), vol. I, p.511, Aen. IV, 255, "circum / piscosos scopulos humilis volat aequora iuxta": ...HUMILIS humiliter: et tractum est ab humo, ut qua me quoque possim tollere humo.

This derivation was later standardized by Isidore of Seville, Etymologiae (ed. Lindsay [1911]), X, 115; "Humilis, quasi humo adclinis." Interestingly, Johannes Balbus (d. c. 1298), in his Catholicon (printed at Mainz, 1460), s.v. humilis gives the standard etymology, "humilis ab humus dicitur...quasi humi [sic] acclinis," but also cites Gregory's seventh gospel homily: "Item dicit gregorius in quarta dominica de aduentu. Miranda actio cum eleuacione non eleuat set grauatur. qui enim sine humilitate uirtutes congregat. quasi in uentum puluerem portat..."

44. In his article, "Le Liber de virtutibus et vitiis d'Alcuin: Note pour l'étude des sources," Revue Mabillon 41 (1951), 77-86, Rochais argues that the Liber Scintillarum was the direct source for Alcuin's treatise. Wallach has demonstrated, however (op.cit., pp.236-247), that this view is untenable, since both works make independent use of older sources, among them the sermons in the Appendix Augustini.

45. Rochais notes that this section is taken from Gregory's Moralia in Job, XVIII.8.13, PL 76, 44C.

46. This Gregorian florilegium, said to have been compiled by one of Gregory's own notarii, had become a popular reference-work by the twelfth century. See esp. André Wilmart, "Le Recueil Grégorien de Paterius et les Fragments Wisigothiques de Paris", Revue Bénédictine 39 (1927), 81-104. Wilmart says (p.85), "On estimera...que le recueil de Paterius s'était répandu assez vite, et qu'il contribua à faire connaître un peu partout la doctrine de saint Grégoire", and (p.91), "Depuis le XIIe siècle environ, les manuscrits sont fort nombreux; le recueil de Paterius a certainement été goûté à cette

époque de renaissance...". See also Rochais, "Contribution...", 255-257.

47. Wallach (op.cit., 248-249) has shown that many of Rabanus' Homiliae de Virtutibus are compiled from chapters of Alcuin's treatise. Rabanus' Homilia 59, "De Superbia et Vana Gloria Cavenda" is based on De Virtutibus et Vitiis 23 and 25, and has the "sowing in the wind" phrase (PL 110, 111D):

Tunc ergo veraciter hoc quod agit homo bonum est,
quando placere desiderat a quo habet quidquid
boni habet, vel facit quæ bona agere videtur.
Et qui per hæc non Deo, sed hominibus placere
cupit, in vanum laborat et in ventum seminat.

48. This example and the two which follow are cited in Whiting, D444, "To bear Dust (powder) in the wind".

49. Alc. VV is a direct source for the Speculum (see Morrill's introduction, xciii-cxiv and cxvii f.). Alcuin's treatise was available in English translation at least from the twelfth century.

Cf. "The Old English Alcuin," in R.D.N. Warner, ed., Early English Homilies from the Twelfth Century, Ms. Vesp. D. XIV, E.E.T.S., O.S. 152, 99/3-5: "Se þe buten eadmodnysse god deð, he byð gelic þan þe on mycele winde dust berð."

50. It is perhaps worth noting that the variant reading "quasi qui in uento puluerem portat" found in many of these texts (cf. the citation from Defensor's Liber Scintillarum on p.250) parallels the use of the dative (ī vindi) in the OWN versions. It is clear, however, from the passage in Gr. 7 in Ev., that the accusative case must have been used in the original version of the phrase, since the image is of one who casts dust into the wind so that it blows back

and blinds him (see above, p. 247, PL 76, 1103A, ...inde deterius cæcatur). Cf., e.g., Blake's use of the same similitude (Complete Writings, ed. G. Keynes [1966, rpt. 1972], 418):

Mock on, mock on, Voltaire, Rousseau:
Mock on, mock on: 'tis all in vain!
You throw the sand against the wind,
And the wind blows it back again.

I have not been able to find further examples of Gregory's sententia in Old West Norse. Halldór Halldórsson (Íslenzkt Orðtakasafn, 2nd ed., 1978-80, s.v. Vindur, II. 247-248) lists variants of a proverb-formula kasta í vind(inn) meaning "kasta á glæ, skeyta e-u ekki". He notes that "orðtakið er kunnigt úr fornmáli" (e.g., Maríu s. 300/5, "...kastar hann nv dygþinni vīt i vindinn..."), and compares the phrase at verpa orðum í vind (see, e.g., Maríu s. 227/20-21, 423/2-3; Thóm. I 179/10-11 -- Thóm. II I. 426/14-15, no corresponding phrase is found in the Quadrilogus Prior, cit. Thóm. I, 178-179; cf. analogous biblical figures at, e.g., Job 6:26 ... in ventum verba profertis, 15:2 ...quasi ventu loquens, 1 Cor. 14:9 ...in aera loquentes). Halldór also cites a example of the phrase at sá í vind from Pétrus s. post. I, Post. 79/11-14 (the author plays here on the image of the "gospel seed" cf. 78/27-29):

At eigi syndiz hinn sæli Petrus til litillar
nytsemþar fram bera Kristz predikan eða i vind saa
sinum orðum, tendraði hinn helgi andi sva mikinn
elld guðligrar astar i hiðrtum þeirra manna...

(None of the general sources for this work cited by Widding, Bek Nielsen, Shook, "The Lives of the Saints in Old West Norse Prose a Handlist", MS 25 [1963], 329-330, and Kirby, Biblical Quotations II, 23 -- i.e., BHL 6659, 6570; Peter Comestor, Historia Scholastica -- offers a parallel text for this passage.) In

Barlaams ok Josaphats saga the "dust in the wind" analogy is used to describe the evanescence of worldly things (Barl. 70/1-3; cf. Ps. Ioh. Dam. 49/1-3):

...því at su farsæla verór	...magnum quid...falsam
yór til fals oc flærðar.	prosperitatem arbitantes.
því at þeir tyna optlega	Quę non eorum sunt quę
skiott. er baðum handum	uidentur, uel putant se
hyggiazt a hallda... <u>því</u>	habere illa, sed ... <u>sunt</u>
<u>likazt sem dust dreivizt</u>	<u>sicut puluis agitatur, et</u>
<u>hengat oc þegat fir</u>	<u>ab alio ad alios uentilata</u>
<u>vinndi...</u>	<u>traijciuntur.</u>

Here, however, as in the previous examples, such imagery is used simply to describe "lost labour", not, as in Gregory's "proverb", feigned humility or the undoing of good works through pride.

51. Indrebø assumed from Kålund's dating of the ms. fragments which preserve portions of Alcuin's treatise in Icelandic (AM 685d 4to, 688a 4to, and 56 8vo) that the work was not known in Iceland before the fifteenth century (Nhom. *61-*62). But Ole Widding has concluded from a comparison of these fragments with the Nhom. text (Ed. Arn. A 4 [1960], 9-22) that all are descended from the same original, and, in his article "Alcuin and the Icelandic Law-Books", he suggests, "... the odds are that a translation of this book by Alcuin also existed in Iceland in the early period" (SBVS 14 [1956-57], 292-293). In his introduction to Ed. Arn. A4 (22), he cautions against drawing hasty conclusions:

Sammenligningen mellem de fire Alkuinhåndskrifter har vist, at alle de tre islandske fragmenter indeholder samme oversættelse som den norske i 619,4^o og endvidere, at de er uafhængige af selve dette håndskrift og indeholder tekster, der på visse punkter er fuldstændigere eller bedre overleveret end teksten i 619,4^o.

Hvis oversættelsen er foretaget i Norge, må det antages at hele to håndskrifter, hvori tekstoverleveringen er bedre end i 619,4^o, er vandret fra Norge til Island....Men dette resultat indebærer intet, der kan afgøre spørgsmålet, hvorvidt oversættelsen oprindelig er foretaget i Norge eller Island.

Strengt taget indebærer det heller ikke nogen sikker oplysning om, at Alkuin har været kendt i oversættelse i Island i højmiddelalderen.... Gustav Indrebøs mening, at Alkuin ikke har været kendt før end i senmiddelalderen på Island, kan jeg dog ikke godtage uden med tvivl. Tilstedeværelsen af hele tre afskrifter i delvis forskellig bearbejdelse må dog mane til forsigtighed med at slutte ex silentio. De er et indicium for, at hans skrift har været kendt før.

Widding also notes (Ibid., 22):

For fuldstændigheds skyld skal det nævnes, at de Alkuincitater, som Vrátný har påvist i den stockholmske (islandske) homiliebog (ANF 1916, 42) ikke har nogen betydning i denne forbindelse, da de repræsenterer en anden oversættelse. De kan have hørt hjemme i en latinsk grundtekst og være overført til islandsk med den, i hvert fald kan de ikke tages som bevis for, at Alkuins skrift har været oversat i sin helhed, så kompilatoren af homiliebogen har kunnet øse af den kilde.

The subsequent studies of this text -- the "penitential homily", In capite ieiuNii, Sthom. 61/1 - 64/16 -- by Joan Turville-Petre and Helen Spencer (see above nn. 23, 29) confirmed Widding's suspicion that the author of this homily translated from an intermediary text rather than directly from Alcuin. At times, however, the parallels in phraseology with the Nhom. text of Alc. VV are striking. Cf., e.g.:

Sthom. 61/28-30:

Oll vón lícnareNar steNdr saman
í iátningoNe. Scriptarganga er
miscuNar verk oc hiólp siúcra
manna. Eínga læcning er hon
æflom órom meþ ipron...

Nhom. 11/14-16 (Widding,
ed.cit. 73/16-18, cf. AM 685
d 4to, Ibid., 72/15-17):

Oll væn lícnar stændr saman
í scripta-gaöngu. Scriptar-
ganga er miscunar værc.
hæilsa siucs. æínga læcning
afls vars með ióran.

Sthom. 61/36-62/2:

Macleggr avoxtr ipronar er at
grata lípnar synþer oc gera
eíge sípan enar sáomo.
Svasem ritningin sagþe. Biþec
þic at eíge legger þu
syn[þ] a synþ ofan.

Nhom. 11/20-23 (Widding,
ed.cit. 75/4-6, cf. AM 685d
4to, Ibid., 74/11-13):

Macleggr ávæoxtr ióranar er. at
grata líónar syndir. ok gera
æígi hinar somu í annat sinni
[685 d 4to: eígi j annað sinn
hinar somu]. sva sem heilog
ritning mæler. Eígi leggi þer
synd á synd.

Spencer, MS 44 (1982), 285/24-
26 (PL 101, 622A-B):

Omnis spes veniæ in confessione
consistit. Confessio opus
est misericordiæ: salus
egroti, unicum est viribus
nostris medicamentum cum
poenitentia.

Spencer, MS 44 (1982), 285/22-33
(PL 101, 622B):

Fructus dignus est poenitentie,
transacta flere peccata, et
eadem iterum non agere, sicut
scriptura ait:

Ne adjicias peccatum super
peccatum...

[Ecclesiasticus 5:5].

The evidence provided by these parallel passages is clearly too slight to support any general conclusions about the existence of a complete translation of Alc. VV in Iceland in the twelfth century, but it does not seem impossible that this Icelandic homilist could

have been familiar with a vernacular text of the treatise like that in Nhom., which he occasionally recalled when translating the citations from Alcuin in his own Latin source.

52.. Sthom. 209/3-28; cf. de Vogüé, vol. 3, 18-24, IV. 1. 1/1 - 3.1/8.

(Vrátný's note that the passage "dem ersten Buche der Dialogen ... entnommen sind" [ANF 32 (1916), 39] is an oversight.) Cf. the independent translations found in AM 677 4to (Leifar, 123/27-124/23, 128/7-30; HMS I. 234/26 - 235/40) and Norges Riksarkiv fragm. no. 71 (ed. Hreinn Benediktsson, Ed. Arn. B 4 [1963], 55/11-22).

One can well imagine that the parable of the cave would have been a favourite anthology-piece. It is found separately, for instance, in the "Irish Canons" (ed. H. Wasserschleben, Die Irische Kanonensammlung [1885], Lib. Ll, cap. 4, p. 209), and forms part of the first homily in A.S. Napier's Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien... (1883, rpt. 1967), 2/17-4/4 (see Klaus Ostheeren's notes ad loc., Ibid., 329-330; D. Yerkes, "The Place of Composition of the Opening of Napier Homily 1," Neophilologus 60 [1976], 452ff. and refs.). On the transmission of Plato's fable in late antiquity and the early middle ages see Pierre Courcelle, Les Confessions de Saint Augustin dans la tradition littéraire (1963), 51, n.4; W. Blum, "Eine Verbindung der zwei Höhlengleichnisse der heidnischen Antike bei Gregor von Nyssa," Vigiliae Christianae 23 (1974), 43-49; Adalbert de Vogüé, "Un Avatar du Mythe de la Caverne dans les Dialogues de Grégoire le Grand," Homenaje a Fray Justo Perez de Urbel, O.S.B., Studia Silensia IV (1977), 20-24.

53. Vrátný, ANF 33 (1917), 156; cf. PL 76, 1123A. Both Gr. 7 and Gr. 12 in Ev. were available in the homiliary of Paul the Deacon as,

respectively, items 8 of the pars hiemalis and 122 of the pars aestiva (see R. Grégoire, Les Homéliaires du Moyen Âge [1966], 78, 122; on the use of PD by the OWN homilists see, e.g., Ole Widding, "De norrøne homiliebögers prædiken på Stephansdag," MM [1959], 44-45). But the cycle of Gregory's forty gospel homilies was itself a standard homiliary throughout the middle ages. As Cyril Smetana remarks in an essay on "Paul the Deacon's Patristic Anthology" (in P. Szarmach and B. Huppé, ed., The Old English Homily and Its Backgrounds [1978], 81-82), "priests in the early Middle Ages were expected to be acquainted with these homilies, and bishops were enjoined to examine clerics on them during canonical visitations." (Cf., e.g., O. Kolsrud, Messuskýringar [1952], 110/7-9, "Prestur skal kvinna gudspialla suo at hann kunne þadann af at kenningar ok omílf[ur Greg]orij..."; Ibid., 110/25-26, "Hann skal kunna þyðing gudspialla ok ommiliur Gregorij...") Icelandic versions of ten of Gregory's gospel homilies, from what was probably a complete collection (cf. Hans Bekker-Nielsen, s.v. "Kyrkofäderna och Kyrkolärarna," KLNM IX, 691-692) are preserved in AM 677 4to (dated shortly after 1200, cf. Walter, Lex. Lehn. 143-144; for a comparison of the homilies in this ms. with material from Gregory in Sthom., Nhom., and later OWN texts see D.A. Seip's introduction to The Arnamagnæan Manuscript 677, 4to..., CCIME XVIII [1949], 29-32). And part of Gr. 34 in Ev. is found not only in Sthom., Nhom., and 677 4to, but also in perhaps the very oldest of Icelandic manuscripts, AM 237 a fol. (dated c. 1150, cf. Lex. Lehn. 142; see Britta Olrik Frederiksen, "Til engleafsniittet i Gregors 34. evangeliehomilie i norrøn oversættelse," Bibl. Arn. 25 [1979], 62-93). Collections of Gregory's homilies, both in Latin and in the vernacular, are

also frequently mentioned in book-lists of a later period, at Vellir in 1318, at Hjarðarholt in 1355 and 1397, and at Möðruvallaklaustr in 1461 (see Emil Olmer, Boksamlingar på Island 1179-1490 [1902], 46, no. 221). A Bishop Aquila of Bergen (= Árni Sigurðsson?† 1314) is said to have had in his library "Omeliæ beati Gregorii xl. in vno volumine" (see O. Kolsrud and G. Reiss, "Tvo norrøne latinske kvæde með melodiar," NVAOS 1912, No. 5 [1913], 58; cf. Stefán Karlsson, "Islandsk bogeksport til Norge i middelalderen," MM [1979], 14, n.10).

The popularity of Gregory's works in Iceland and Norway throughout the middle ages is undoubted. Bishop Þorlákur Runólfsson of Skálholt is said to have asked to have Gregory's Cura Pastoralis read to him during the long infirmity which preceded his death (Hungrvaka k.12, in Jón Helgason ed., Byskupa Sögur, Ed. Arn. A 13. 1 [1938], 96/11-15), and copies of the same work were later to be found at Viðeyjarklaustr (1397) and Möðruvallaklaustr (1461; see Olmer, op.cit., 13, no. 49). Icelandic book-lists also contain references to Expositiones Gregorii (at Múli, 1318; see Olmer 19, no. 79) and to Gregorius super Ezechielem (at Viðeyjarklaustr, 1397; see Olmer 22, no. 102). Möðruvallaklaustr also possessed a copy of Quattuor libri dialogorum, in Latin, in 1461 (see Olmer, 42, no.198); and some of the works called dialogus in other Icelandic catalogues cited by Olmer (15, no. 61) may well have been copies of Gregory's Dialogues (on the use of the singular dialogus to refer to Gregory's work in English library-lists see R.M. Wilson, The Lost Literature of England [2nd ed., 1970], 75, 78). On the influence of the Dialogues on OWN literature see, e.g., D.A. Seip, op.cit., 36-39, and Nye studier i norsk språkhistorie (1954), 92f.; Þórhallur Þorgilsson, Drög að skrá um ritverk á íslenzku að fornu og nýju

af latneskum eða rómönskum uppruna. II. Ítalía (1958), 36-39;

Þorvaldur Bjarnarson, Leifar, intro., XIV-XVI; Einar Ól. Sveinsson, Á Njálsbúð (1943), 8-13, 170-171; Régis Boyer, "The influence of Pope Gregory's Dialogues on Old Icelandic literature", Proceedings of the First International Saga Conference..., ed. P. Foote, Hermann Pálsson, D. Slay (1973), 1-27; Dag Strömbäck, The Conversion of Iceland, trans. P. Foote (1975), 94-104.

A reminiscence from Gregory's Dialogues would also appear to be found in the first sermon for the dedication of a church in Sthom., the first part of which is a translation of the opening sections of Caesarius 227, "De Natale Ecclesiae" (CCSL 104, 897-898 [852/5-853/13] = Ps. Augustine 229, PL 39, 2166ff.; see Karel Vrátný, ANF 32 [1916], 40; Hans Bekker-Nielsen, "Caesarius af Arles som kilde til norrøne homilier," Bibl. Arn. 25. 1 [1961], 13). Vrátný included this text among his examples of sermons in which "...verfährt der Prediger in der Weise, dass er zuerst eine lateinische Vorlage, teilweise recht frei, übersetzt, dann aber mit eigenen Erwägungen, Ermahnungen oder Erklärungen und dergleichen weiter fortfährt". The Icelandic homilist follows Caesarius' text as far as his citation of Matt. 5:24, "Prius reconciliare fratri tuo, et tunc veniens offer munus tuum" (CCSL 104, 898 [853/12-13], cf. Sthom. 94/10-15), then he appears to recall Gregory's discussion of the same verse in Book Four, chapter 62 of the Dialogues:

Sthom. 94/15-27:
 ...Nu þar es sva er til
 faret. at sa es hvarfiari
es mapreN es missátr víþ.
oc má eige fyr þui
sáttasc víþ hann þót
vili at eige má ná fundi

de Vogüé, vol.3, IV. 62. 1/10-15:
 ...Debemus itaque ad proximum,
quamuis longe positum longeque
disiunctum, mente ire eique
animum subdere, humilitate
 illum ac benevolentia placare,
 et scilicet conditor noster,

<u>hans. þa es [eige] þrvænt</u>	<u>dum tale placitum nostrae</u>
at sumir þykcisc eige vita	<u>mentis aspexerit, a peccato</u>
hvernig fyr megi þa sættasc víþ hann	<u>nos soluit, quia munus pro</u>
hellir en fœra fœrnera. en þó má sættasc	<u>culpa sumit</u>
víþ óvin sín. ef maþr vill.	
<u>þót hann megi eigi fiNa</u>	
<u>hann. scal reNa hugnom til</u>	
<u>sættar.</u> oc låta guþ þat siá	
at hann vill fyr gefa hinom. þat es sá hefer	
misgortt víþ hann. oc hann vill taka slíca	
yfer bót af hinom sem góþer	
meN ráþa at gera til haNda	
hinom. <u>nu þegar es guþ sér</u>	
<u>þa hugrening. þá má hver</u>	
<u>þruGlega ganga til at fœra</u>	
<u>fœrn sína guþi. fyr þuiat þa</u>	
<u>kallar guþ vera setsc þegar</u>	
<u>es hann sér vilian til</u>	
<u>sættariNar. oc fyrgefningar</u>	
<u>víþ hiN.</u>	

Unfortunately, this section of the OWN translation of Gregory's Dialogues preserved fragmentarily in AM 677 4to has not survived.

A somewhat more literal rendering of the passage forms part of Vercelli Homily XIV (the central section of which is based on Dialogues IV. 59-62; see Paul Szarmach, ed., Vercelli Homilies IX-XXIII [1981], 31/83-96, ms. 78v-79r; cf. Szarmach, "Another Old English Translation of Gregory the Great's Dialogues", English Studies 62 [1981], 97-109).

54. "Contribution ...", 255-257. Cf. Wilmar, "Le recueil Grégorien...", 102: "L'oeuvre de saint Grégoire le Grand est entourée de florilèges ...", and Leclercq, The Love of Learning..., 229: "...collections from St Gregory the Great were very numerous, beyond any doubt the most numerous of all, because the Gregorian texts were eminently conducive to contemplative prayer".

55. Cf. Rabanus Maurus, De clericorum institutione, cap. 36 (PL 107, 413A), who defends those who make use of the words of others when they preach from a charge of plagiarism, and, on the contrary, encourages a judicious eclecticism:

Sunt sane quidam qui bene pronuntiare possunt, quid autem pronuntient, cogitare non possunt. Quod si ab aliis sumant eloquenter sapienterque conscriptum, memoriæque commendent, atque ad populum proferant, si eam personam gerunt, non improprie faciunt. Sic enim, quod profecto utile est, multi prædicatores veritatis fiunt...

56. cit. Leclercq, The Love of Learning..., 231.
57. Ibid., 231-232.

Chapter four:
Metaphorical Compounds.

In a chapter on "the Art of Preaching" in Rhetoric in the Middle Ages, James J. Murphy points out that one of the most important models for medieval homilists was the gospel record of Christ's own method of preaching:

...Most importantly, he confirmed and reinforced the Judaic practice of using Scripture as proof; he distinguished carefully between parables and "direct" discourse; he distinguished between evangelizing (announcement) and teaching (exposition of doctrine); and finally he made constant comparison of earthly and divine through the use of analogy and metaphor. Each of these features runs through Christian preaching even to the present, but they are especially prominent in the medieval period.¹

Undoubtedly the most memorable feature of Christ's sermons is his use of parables and figurative language; for it was through his "dark sayings" that he fulfilled the prophecy of the Psalmist: "I will open my mouth in a parable: I will utter dark sayings of old".² Christ explained to his disciples that he made use of extended similitudes like the stories of the Sower and the Seed, the Prodigal Son, and the Labourers in the Vineyard for the practical reason that few were capable of grasping the message of his teaching directly (Mark 4: 11-12):

And he said unto them, Unto you it is given to know the mystery of the kingdom of God: but unto them that are without, all these things are done in parables: That seeing they may see, and not perceive; and hearing they may hear, and not understand.

Christ's parables and extended metaphors did not only, however, serve the practical purpose of helping to distinguish those of greater or lesser faith - their use also encouraged a special view of the universe as a complex of similitudes of things spiritual.

This habit of mind was, of course, already fundamental to the Judaic interpretation of human history. God had revealed himself to Israel through things, events and persons as well as words, and therefore all things which could tell of his operation in history had to be scrutinized for possible significances.³ For Christian theologians of

the Middle Ages who inherited this special view of divine action, this meant not only that the laws and history of the people of Israel recorded in the Old Testament could be reinterpreted as a series of figures of Christ and the Redemption, but also that the search for evidence of the divine plan could be extended to the whole of creation. Medieval authors are fond of reiterating that the annals of the material world, the "books" of universal history and visible nature have, like the tables of the Old Law, been "written with the finger of God".⁴

The implications of God's ability to communicate through things as well as words are expounded in an oft-cited passage in Thomas Aquinas' Quaestiones Quodlibetales:

Any truth can be manifested in two ways: by things or by words. Words signify things and one thing can signify another. The Creator of things, however, can not only signify anything by words, but can also make one thing signify another. That is why the Scriptures contain a twofold truth. One lies in the things meant by the words used - that is the literal sense. The other in the way things become figures of other things, and in this consists the spiritual sense.⁵

For this reason, not only do the figures of the Old Testament find their fulfillment in the New, but, as Jerome remarks in a letter to Paulinus concerning the study of Scripture, a single book of the Bible may contain as many hidden meanings as it does words:

Apocalypsis Johannis tot habet sacramenta, quot uerba...et...
in uerbis singulis multiplices latent intellegentiae.⁶

The consequent difficulties of interpretation for the Christian reader are aptly summarized in an Icelandic homily preserved in the fifteenth-century manuscript AM 62⁴ 4to (Leifar 155/20-29):

Í helgum ritningum finnst oft einn hlutr fleira merkja enn eitt. Svo sem annat er eð óarga dýr það er sígr vo úr kyni Júða: það er Krístr; enn annat er eð óarga dýr það er ferr ok leitar, hvern það megí svelgja; en það merkir enn forna fjanda. Ok svo sem annarr er ellðr sá er drottinn sendi á

jorð, ok villði brenna láta, en annarr er sá elldr, er fellr yfir syndoga menn, at þeir sjái eigi sól. En þótt illska Gyðinga merki kastala, sá er drottin sendi til postula sína, ok mælti: "Farit þjer í kastala þann er í gegn yör er", þa merkir þó sá kastali helga mey guðs móður Maríó.⁷

Such ambiguities are, of course, not due to the deficient authority of the spiritual sense, but, as Aquinas again observes, to the nature of metaphor itself: "For one thing may have similitude to many; for which reason it is impossible to proceed from any thing mentioned in the Scriptures to an unambiguous meaning."⁸ It is

part of the mystery surrounding the sacred page that its plenitude of meanings is only partially accessible to any human interpreter.

Needless to say, however, Christian scholars eagerly accepted the challenge of hunting out, interpreting, and cataloguing the multitude of figurative words and phrases contained in the Bible. As M.D. Chenu points out in his study of the medieval "symbolist mentality", this was the precise object of Augustine's De Doctrina Christiana - "to furnish the means to clarify the verborum translatorum ambiguitates, the double sense of such transferred or figurative words".⁹ Augustine's method allowed no scrap of biblical text to go to waste, not even passages which had no apparent connection with questions of faith and morality. Rather, he advised,

...whatever appears in the divine Word that does not literally pertain to virtuous behaviour or to the truth of faith you must take to be figurative.¹⁰

Chenu observes that Augustine's approach to allegoresis, although perhaps overzealous, was to prove immensely influential:

His allegorizing entailed two unwieldy practices continued by his medieval disciples: there was the practice of the grammarian-exegete who, commenting line by line, applied his allegorical technique minutely to each separate element; then there was the practice of the Latin rhetorician who,

ignorant of the Semitic idiom and style, even of the Hebraic use of parallelism, lumped together imagery that he found obscure - imagery that was figurative but basically literal in sense, like that of the parables - with imagery that actually had spiritual or allegorical meanings. This confusion would operate throughout the Middle Ages, even within the systematization of the four senses.¹¹

In a passage in De Doctrina Christiana reminiscent of Christ's explanation of his reason for using parables when preaching (Matt. 13: 13, Mark 4: 11-12, Luke 8: 10), Augustine suggests that obscure figures in scripture act as a salutary obstacle to the proud and idle reader:

...many and varied obscurities and ambiguities deceive those who read casually, understanding one thing instead of another; indeed, in certain places they do not find anything to interpret erroneously, so obscurely are certain sayings covered with a most dense mist. I do not doubt that this situation was provided by God to conquer pride by work and to combat disdain in our minds, to which those things which are easily discovered seem frequently to become worthless.¹²

At the same time, he argues, the challenge presented by difficult figurative passages gives them a peculiar aesthetic appeal. Of Song of Solomon 4: 2, "Thy teeth are like a flock of sheep that are even shorn, which came up from the washing; whereof every one bear twins, and none is barren among them", he remarks,

Does one learn anything [from this verse] besides that which he learns when he hears the same thought expressed in plain words without this similitude? Nevertheless, in a strange way, I contemplate the saints more pleasantly when I envisage them as the teeth of the Church cutting off men from their errors and transferring them to her body after their hardness has been softened as if by being bitten and chewed. I recognize them most pleasantly as shorn sheep having put aside the burdens of the world like so much fleece, and as ascending from the washing, which is baptism, all to create twins, which are the two precepts of love, and I see no one of them sterile of this holy fruit.¹³

Augustine admits that he cannot define the exact nature of the charm of such a passage ("...why it seems sweeter to me than if no such similitude were offered in the divine books...is difficult to say"), but he draws the general conclusion,

For the present...no one doubts that things are perceived more readily through similitudes and that what is sought with difficulty is discovered with more pleasure.¹⁴

Augustine's sympathy for scriptural obscurity seems strangely out of place beside his frequent admonitions that lucidity should be the first aim of the Christian teacher.¹⁵ A taste for dark conceits was not new, however, in Augustine's day. Quintilian deplores the vulgarity of those who admire outlandish similes and metaphors:

... as ingenious, daring and eloquent, simply because of their ambiguity,...quite a number of persons have become infected by the belief that a passage which requires a commentator must for that very reason be a masterpiece of elegance. Nay, there is even a class of hearer who finds a special pleasure in such passages; for the fact that they can provide an answer to the riddle fills them with an ecstasy of self-congratulation, as if they had not merely heard the phrase, but invented it.¹⁶

In fact, it is interesting to compare the passage just cited from De Doctrina Christiana with Augustine's discussion in his treatise De Trinitate, of St Paul's use of the term aenigma in his first epistle to the Corinthians 13: 12, "Videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate, tunc autem facie ad faciem". Augustine points out that the word aenigma can refer to a rhetorical trope, a special subcategory of allegory:

...Hujus autem tropi, id est allegorice, plures sunt species, in quibus est etiam quod dicitur ænigma....Enigma est autem ut breviter explicem, obscura allegoria...¹⁷

Cicero uses the term aenigma in his De Oratore to refer to an extravagant abuse of metaphor:

Something resembling the real thing is taken, and the words that properly belong to it are then, as I said, applied

metaphorically to the other thing. This is a valuable stylistic ornament; but care must be taken to avoid obscurity - and in fact it is usually the way in which what are called riddles [aenigmata] are constructed...¹⁸

Quintilian is even more emphatic in his condemnation of "enigmas":

When, however, an allegory is too obscure, we call it a riddle [aenigma]: such riddles are, in my opinion, to be regarded as blemishes, in view of the fact that lucidity is a virtue...¹⁹

Augustine argues, however, that scriptural "riddles" are well suited to the expression of supernal truths which are in themselves, to mortal minds, not lucid, but dark and difficult to grasp. The aenigmata of scripture are accommodated to our understanding, as far as this is possible:

Proinde, quantum mihi videtur, sicut nomine speculi imaginem voluit intelligi; ita nomine ænigmatis quamvis similitudinem, tamen obscuram, et ad perspicendum difficilem. Cum igitur speculi et ænigmatis nomine quæcumque similitudines ab Apostolo significatæ intelligi possint, quæ accommodatæ sunt ad intelligendum Deum, eo modo quo potest.²⁰

Cicero suggested that metaphor "sprang from necessity due to the pressure of poverty and deficiency, but has subsequently been made popular by its agreeable and entertaining quality".²¹ Christian authors of the middle ages recognized, however, that the poverty and deficiency of human language was only exaggerated when it became the vehicle for the expression of the Word of God, and that the use of metaphor was, therefore, an even greater necessity in Scripture.²² In his influential treatise, De coelesti hierarchia, written less than a century after Augustine's death, Dionysius the "pseudo-Areopagite" insisted that precisely because even the most sublime analogies to which sublunary language can resort in attempting to speak of God and heaven -- images of light, fragrance, beauty, sweetness, etc. -- are only pale approximations of

their ineffable power and splendour, the obscure figure is needed to act as a corrective: "Impossibile est nobis aliter lucere divinum radium, nisi varietate sacrorum velaminum circumvelatum".²³ The use of an incongruous symbol, Dionysius argues, a "dissimilar similitude", is the most effective way of evoking the transcendent mystery of the Godhead, and of inducing an anagogic leap across the otherwise insuperable gap which separates the mundane and celestial worlds.²⁴

As M.D. Chenu has observed, however, Dionysius' theory of the symbol differed radically from Augustine's theory of scriptural "signs" in its disregard for the role of the Christian reader, the interpreter of the mysteries of scripture:

For pseudo-Dionysius, it was not the believer who gave signs their meaning; it was objective elements themselves which, before anything else and by their very nature, were so many representations, so many "analogies"... For Augustine, no sacrament was possible without the intervention of the human "word" or concept: Accedit verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum (Men's word or concept is conjoined with some element, and a sacrament results).²⁵ This was the axiom of medieval sacramentalism... In pseudo-Dionysian symbolism, wholly taken up with mystagogy, such conceptualization did not come into play. The symbol was the starting point of knowledge, of "initiation", and it was no more reducible to analysis than the mystery it made present.²⁶

Ultimately, the pragmatism of Augustine's approach to scriptural figures made it more attractive to Christian teachers; and Chenu points out that by the twelfth century it was Augustine's influence and not that of Dionysius which informed treatments of Christian "signs" in the areas of both biblical exegesis and interpretations of the Mass.²⁷ Analysis was preferred to anagogy, and the tendency to transform scriptural metaphor into allegory became ever more exaggerated, as Chenu emphasizes:

We are not dealing here with an occasional excess but with a fundamental misunderstanding of the proper character of metaphor as image and consequently of the difference between symbol and allegory. In certain cases, such as the case of the Song of Songs -

a major case it is true - combination of the two genres, or constant modulation from one to the other, was legitimate and was, moreover, traditional. But confusion was bound to arise from the institutionalized flaunting of allegory. While metaphor or parable developed an image which, by its dissimilar similitude and its entirety, initiated one to an understanding of the spiritual reality so figured, allegory was the analytical exploration of an idea which made use of details dissected and abstracted from an image, with each detail having specific meaning. It was no longer the Ark as a whole which was taken as a type or symbol of the church, but it was each detail of its construction that was explored in a new complex of meanings -- its beams, its design, its length and the like.²⁸ The panther with its seven colors betokened the priest readying himself for the sacrifice and clothing himself with seven vestments and virtues that served him in combat. St Peter's liberation from prison, as an event of early church history, no longer figured man's liberation from sin; instead, we have his four guards representing the four passions, his two chains signifying habit and despair, his sandals signifying perfection, and his tunic signifying justice...²⁹

The germ of this procedure can be seen in Augustine's exposition of Song of Solomon 4:2 cited above. A special figurative significance is attached to almost every word in the verse -- the "shorn sheep" are those who have been saved from error, their "fleeces" are the burdens of this world, the "washing" from which they ascend is the rite of baptism, the "twins" they bear are the two precepts of love. It is even more interesting, however, that Augustine himself employs a bizarre extended metaphor to elucidate his obscure text when he speaks of the "teeth of the Church" masticating those it has torn away from error:

Et tamen nescio quo modo suavius intueor sanctos, cum eos quasi dentes ecclesiae uideo praecidere ab erroribus homines atque in eius corpus, emollita duritia, quasi demorsos mansosque transferre.³⁰

Augustine repeatedly stressed that expositors of difficult scriptural passages should not feel that they need, in turn, cultivate obscure figures in their writing, but should strive on the contrary to attain

clarity of expression.³¹ It is clear, however, that he also recognized that at least a moderate use of metaphor (even of rather extravagant metaphors) was an indispensable tool for the elaboration of the meaning of a difficult text. Metaphors provided the key to the solution of the riddles of the sacred page.³²

In the Old Scandinavian Homily Books examples of elaborate metaphors generated by the exposition of a biblical verse are not difficult to find. The way in which such "exegetical" metaphors are manipulated by the sermonist is illustrated, for instance, in the following passage from a Christmas homily in Sthom., an exposition of Matthew 22: 4, "Ecce prandium meum, paravi, tauri mei et altilia occisa sunt, et omnia parata". This section of the sermon is a translation of Gregory's homily on the parable of the wedding feast (Hom. 38 in Evangelia); and the Sthom. text can be compared with a parallel, though independent, Icelandic translation preserved in AM 677 4to (Leifar, 76/ 29 - 79/ 17):

Gr. 38, <u>PL</u> 76, 1284A-B	Sthom. 163/ 19-26	<u>Leifar</u> 78/ 35 - 79/ 4
...qui ergo per tauros	...huat merkia gripung-	...Af því merchia oxn
nisi patres testamenti	arner nema feþr ens	feþr ena forno laga.
veteris significantur?	forða laga hallds. þar	at þeim var lofat at
Nam dum ex permissione	es þeim vas lofat i	hata andscota sin[a]
legis acceperant qua-	þeim lögonom at stanga	oc stanga þa með
tenus adversarios suos	andscota guþs oc sína	hornom licamlegs
odii retributione per-	meþ horni hatrs. eþa	afls. En
cuterent, ut ita dicam,	hvat merkia alifoglar-	alifoglar merchia
quid aliud quam tauri	ner nema feþr. ens nyia	[feþr] eNa nvio laga
erant, qui inimicos	laga hallz. þeir er	þeir er fettir ero
suos <u>virtutis corporeæ</u>	girnþer sínar hafa til	af fözlo himnescrar
<u>cornu feriebant?</u> Quid	guþs. oc <u>fliúga meþ</u>	<u>miscuNar</u> oc hefiasc
vero per altilia nisi	<u>helgom skilningom oc</u>	up fra iarligom [<u>sic</u>]
patres testamenti novi	<u>guþs boþorþa óst. sva-</u>	girndom til himins
figurantur, qui dum	<u>sem meþ vængiom til</u>	dvrþar sva sem foglar
<u>gratiam pinguetudinis</u>	<u>[guþs]. Góþgerningar</u>	<u>flvga i loft af</u>
<u>internæ percipiunt,</u>	<u>oc guþs boþorþa halld</u>	<u>iorþo.</u> ³³
a terrenis desideriis	<u>oc vili góþr hefr</u>	
evitentes, ad sublimia	<u>mannin upp til guþs</u>	

contemplationis suæ sem vanger.
pennis sublevantur?

Both of the Icelandic translators are reasonably faithful to Gregory's text, but each makes independent use of the Latin metaphors available in his source. The virtutis corporeæ cornus with which the Patriarchs of the Old Law strike down their enemies remains a "horn of bodily strength" in Leifar but becomes a "horn of hate" in Sthom. The Sthom. translator skilfully distills this more forceful and memorable alliterative compound from Gregory's parallel phraseology: "quatenus adversarios suos odii retributione percuterent...qui inimicos suos virtutis corporeæ cornu feriebant". On the other hand, the Sthom. sermonist is more expansive in his treatment of the image of the "wings of contemplation" which is introduced by Gregory to show how the winged "fatlings" prepared for the feast represent the saints of the New Testament. The Leifar text replaces Gregory's ecstatic metaphor, "a terrenis desideriis evitentes, ad sublimia contemplationis suæ pennis sublevantur", with a more easily digested simile, "þeir hefjasc upp fra iar[þ]ligom girndom til himins dvrþar sva sem foglar flvga i loft af iorþo". The Sthom. translator also uses a simile instead of a metaphor here, but packs even more information into his interpretive rendering than Gregory himself provides: "...þeir er girnþer sínar hafa til guþs. oc fliúga með helgom boþorþa óst. svasem með vængiom til [guþs]. Góþgærningar oc guþs boþorþa halld oc vili góþr hefr manniN upp til guþs sem vanger". Finally, it is interesting to note that while the Leifar translator strives to preserve the rather difficult image of the Christian Fathers "perceiving the grace of internal fatness" (qui dum gratiam pinguetudinis internæ percipiunt.../ þeir er fettir ero af fözlo himnescrar mis-cunnar), the Sthom. sermonist omits this figure altogether. Perhaps this translator felt that the only two figures he needed to make his allegorical point were those of "horn" and "wings" corresponding to the tauri and atilia of the scriptural verse, and therefore could dispense

with this more ornate flourish as an unnecessary distraction.³⁴

In this example, as in Augustine's exposition of Song of Solomon 4: 2, metaphor is used primarily as an allegorical tool. And Gregory's Latin illustrates that allegorical readings can be presented simply and effectively through the use of compounds which bind together figure and meaning: virtutis corporeæ / cornus; contemplationis / pennæ.³⁵ Another Christmas sermon in Sthom. (45/ 33 - 49/ 36, "Nativitas Domini, A Joladag") contains several good examples of allegorical compounds of this kind. The central section of the sermon is devoted to an explanation of the significance of the historical events and natural wonders which accompanied the birth of Christ: Augustus entered into Rome in a chariot; a golden ring encircled the sun; a fountain of oil sprang up in Rome; all debts were remitted; there was an earthquake; the sun rose at midnight; a universal taxation was imposed. This section of the sermon can be compared with a commentary on Luke 2: 1ff. which forms part of the interesting collection of excerpts from the tenth-century Vatican Library manuscript, Reg. Lat. 49, edited by Dom André Wilmart under the title, Catéchèses Celtiques.³⁶ This text can by no means be regarded as a direct source for the Icelandic sermon, but it is a reasonably close analogue, and both texts make use of the same method of "exposition by metaphor"³⁷:

Sthom. 46/ 21-25

Oc svasem sendr var ciR-
ínus iarl at boporþe þessa
keisara. a opro áre ens
fimtategar ríkis hans til
gyþingalan. at heimta
skatt til haNda honom.
sva sende guþ a þui eno
sama áre almátkan svn siN
i þeNa heím. at heímta af
oss scatt boporþs oc
rétlétes hans.

cf. Cat. Celt. 101/ 84-90

...Aliter Augustus totius mundi rex
censum unicuique imperans deus pater
intelligitur, qui est rex totius mundi,
et qui misit censores, idest profaetas
et apostolos et doctores, ut totus
mundus censum fidei redderet ei. Per
Cirinum uero qui interpre<tatur> haeres,
Christus designatur,...qui primus
censum fidei deo patri reddidit in
bab(tismo)...

Sthom. 46/ 32-36

Augustus kom í uphæfe ríkis síns með tiberio syne sínom í rómaborg í einni kerro. síðan er hann feck ríki fyr utan haf. Sva kom cristr í kerom miscuNar siNar til heíms þessa at stýra heime þessom sem fyR. oc nú oc a valit með goplegom fæpor í einom vilia oc í eiNe vesningo.³⁸

Sthom. 47/ 3-5

J ríki avgustus spratt upp vípsmíors brupr fra morne til aptans. sa er mercþe at í hans ríki munde boreN verða sa er es brupr miscuN-
ar oc vípsmíor allrar sálo.³⁹

Cat. Celt. 99/ 23-26

In eius quoque tempore fons olei fluxit in Roma per totum diem a mane usque ad uesperum. Quod significat quia in eius tempore nasceretur ipse a quo redundaret fons olei spiritualis ad baptismum nostrum et ad unctionem nostram per diem noui testamenti usque ad iudicium.

Sthom. 47/ 24-29

Sia keisere avgustus sende bop of allan heim at hverR mapr...scyllde giallda honom ein peNing heílan þaN er denarius heiter. sa er víp apra tio. Sva sende dominus vaR iesus cristr postola sína of allan heím at hverR sem eín gylde honom peNing
boporða hans.⁴⁰

cf. Cat. Celt. 100/ 57-62

Hic Augustus misit edictum ut unusquisque per orbem terrae censum profiteretur, idest ut unusquisque homo denarium redderet Cesari tam diues quam pauper...et paria dona diuites et pauperes tribuebant Augusto in figura Christi, cui unusquisque pardonum, hoc est denarium mandatorum debet dare.

Because the metaphorical compounds in these passages are found, as it were, in situ, as part of the verbal apparatus for the exposition of a specific body of material, they do not seem at odds with the simplicity of the surrounding prose. In isolation, however, phrases like scattr boporðs oc rétlétes hans, kerra miscuNar, peNingr boporða, and brupr miscuNar oc vípsmíor allrar sálo sound as though they would be equally at home in later OWN prose works written in the "learned" or "florid" styles. Mattias Tveitane notes, for instance, that the OWN translation of Vitae

Patrum "brúker...langt flere metaforer enn den latinske originalen"⁴¹;
and these often take the form of allegorical compounds. Cf., e.g.:

HMS II, 375/ 16-17

...en hann sialfr sitr hia
oss æ midlandi oss af seim
gudligra mola.

HMS II, 528/ 14-17

...hann ottadiz eigi iafn-
miok sina synd sem hitt, ef
hans andliqr fadir felli i
reidinnar fen eða ofundar-
innar forað, ok fyrirfariz
þar af allr avðxtr hans
andligs starfs ok erfidis...

Ibid., 375/ 33-35

...Ipse tamen sedens nobiscum
numquam cessabat aliquid de studiis
spiritalibus commonere.

Ibid., 528/ 32-34

...et anxie timebat, ne per
invidiæ et iracundiæ vitium
aliquid tale ageret pater suus
spiritualis, ut perderet omnes
labores sanctos...

Similarly, Ole Widding cites, as an illustration of florissant stil,
a passage from Bergr Sökkason's Nikolaus saga Erkibyskups which includes
the use of "udpyntede sammensætninger" among its stylistic ornaments
(the passage, concerning a merchant whose prodigality leads him to ruin,
can be compared with an earlier Icelandic version written c. 1200)⁴²:

Nik. II, HMS II, 133/ 30-37

...geymir nefndr kaupmadr,
sem stundir lida fram, uvitr-
liga sinu gózi...veitandi vin
ok vist leikorum ok fontum
sik lofundum sva oforsialiga,
at eigi litaz hann fyrri um,
en uti er enn sídazti pen-
ningr, ok hann er volltinn
af sæti virðingarinnar níðr
i brigdæli ok kinnroda
fyrirlitningar.

cf. Nik. I, HMS II, 38/ 19-21

kaupmadr nðckurr var sa, er
mikinn auð hafði ættan i kaupum
sinum, en síðan geck hann i
dryckiur ok eyddi aurum sinum
i morgum vanhðgum, unz hann
vard valadr um síðir.

cf. HMS II, 42/ 5-6

...fann hann eigi, apr hann
vas orþinn miok sva þreigi.⁴³

Such phraseology reflects the predilection for Nominalstil characteristic
of both early and late OWN clerical prose. Ernst Walter observes,

Dieser Nominalstil bildet einen Teil des sogenannten "gelehrten
Stils" in der altwestnordischen Literatur, der so deutlich vom
"Sagastil" absticht. In unseren geistlich-gelehrten Übersetzungs-

texten beobachten wir, wie eine Fülle von Nomina auftauchen. Die Präferenz des Nomens in den lateinischen Originalen mußte (oder sollte) bei der Wiedergabe der zahlreichen Substantiva und der erläuternden oder auch nur schmückenden) Adjektiva nachgeahmt werden.⁴⁴

Walter refers specifically to the nominalization of adjectives and verbs through the use of suffixes (-leikr/ -leiki, -ing, etc.),⁴⁵ but the use of allegorical or metaphorical compounds would seem to be a facet of the same stylistic phenomenon.⁴⁶

In his article, "The style of the Old Icelandic Family Sagas", Otto Springer describes the figurative expressions which populate OWN religious prose texts as "a strange hybrid of ecclesiastical reflection and skaldic kenning";⁴⁷ and, in fact, more than one scholar has been tempted to compare the metaphorical compounds used by clerical authors with simple kennings. Bjarne Berulfsen suggests that, as far as the artful use of metaphor was concerned, medieval Scandinavian authors needed no help from foreign models:

Eddaens og skaldekvadets kenningar viser hvor utbredt metaforen har vært på norrønt område fra eldgammel tid, og det vrimler av bilder i både ættesaga og kongesaga. For så vidt er det ikke nødvendig å søke etter fremmed påvirkning når vi møter den i vår hjemlige litteratur.⁴⁸

And Ernst Walter notes that a practical understanding of skaldic diction would have helped early Christian translators to cope generally with the verbal complexities of foreign sources, including, presumably, new and unfamiliar metaphors.⁴⁹ To take a specific example, Einar 'Oláfur Sveinsson has remarked that the word hiarta-hæll used at Sthom. 93/9 bears at least a formal resemblance to the simplest type of kenning:

Ef litið er á óbundið mál 12. aldar, einkum trúarleg rit, gætir þar töluvert áhrifa frá kveðskap, einkum frá eddukvæðum, en lítt dróttkvæðum. Í Stokkhólms Hómilíubók 93⁹ kemur þó fyrir "hjartahöll", sem rætur á að nokkru leyti að

rekja til biblíumáls: "þér eruð musteri Guðs", 1 Kor. 3, 16 (og miklu víðar), en það efni ræðir prédikarinn einmitt um á þessum stað, á hinn bóginn er orðið að minnsta kosti að formi til í stíl kenninga...⁵⁰

It should be noted, however, that while the source for this text -- Caesarius of Arles' Sermo 227, "De Natale Ecclesiae"⁵¹ -- does elaborate on the meaning of 1 Cor. 3:17 and 6:19 at this point, the word hiartahæll itself is, in fact, a direct translation of Caesarius' phrase, habitaculum cordis (CCSL 104, 897 [852/15]). This is not, of course, to deny the resourcefulness and skill of the Icelandic translator, who makes use of alliterative and metaphorical compounds among other rhetorical figures to achieve an oratio ornata in this passage:

Sthom. 93/6-13:

...en þó es næðsyn at leita
við sva sem vér megom at
hriópa abravt synða saurí oc
lundar læstom. at etki fiNi guð
þat i hugarfari óro es augo
hans stygguisvíc við. helldr
leítom vér at hiartahæll ór
leýsisc fra læstom. en lýsisc
costom...oc leítom at lúca upp
himinríkiss dyR með luklom
göpgerninga váRa. þar es vér
hæfom læstar fyrer oss siálfir
af synðom orom...⁵²

Caesarius 227, CCSL 104. 897 852/12-17:

...quantum possumus cum ipsius adiutorio
laboremus, ne dominus noster in templo
suo, hoc est, in nobis ipsis inveniat
quod oculos suae maiestatis offendat;
sed habitaculum cordis nostri evacuetur
vitiis, et virtutibus repleatur....
laboremus, ut nobis bonorum operum
clavibus ianuam regni caelestis
aperire possimus.

At any rate, although a compound like hiartahæll may owe its form to some extent to a native poetic tradition, it is not a kenning, but a forceful rendering by an accomplished prose stylist of a metaphor rooted in a Latin ecclesiastical tradition.⁵³

The following selective survey of figurative expressions in Sthom. and Nhom. shows how fully the homilists exploited this tradition. In

doing so they helped to introduce into Icelandic a fund of conventional figures which could, in turn, be used to advantage by later writers.

1. James J. Murphy, Rhetoric in the Middle Ages (1974, rpt. 1981), 276.
2. Ps. 77 (78): 2. Cf. Ps. 48 (49): 4, Ezek. 17: 2, Matt. 13: 34-35.
3. See Murphy, 279-280; A.C. Charity, Events and Their Afterlife (1966), ch.2, "God and History" (and secondary literature cited there); and, generally, Eric Auerbach, "Figura", Archivum Romanum 22 (1939), 436-489, rpt. in s.a., Neue Dantestudien (1944), 11-72, and (trans. Ralph Mannheim) s.a., Scenes from the Drama of European Literature (1959), 11-76.
4. On the immensely popular metaphors of "the book of the world", "of nature", etc. in medieval literature see E.R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, trans. W.R. Trask (1973), ch. 16, "The Book as Symbol", esp. 310-326.
M.D. Chenu (Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century, trans. J. Taylor and L.K. Little [1968, rpt. 1979], ch.3, "The Symbolist Mentality", 116) observes that twelfth-century theologians "gradually worked out the principle that the Bible, having God, master of all events, for its author, differed radically from books composed by men in that it communicated not with words (voces) alone as they did but by the events (res) it recounted as well". Chenu points out that although this attitude eventually led to a wholesale and systematic allegorization of Biblical narrative at the expense of its literal significance, even this did not undermine the basic recognition that "knowledge of God and his designs was derived both from nature and from history" (Ibid., 117). The idea is perhaps expressed most succinctly in the famous verse of Alan of Lille: "Omnis mundi creatura/ Quasi liber et pictura/ Nobis est et speculum". Chenu refers, in addition, to Hugh of St Victor, De tribus diebus iii (PL 176, 814B), "Universus enim mundus iste

sensibilis quasi quidam liber est scriptus digito Dei..." (cf. Augustine, Enarrationes in psalmos, 45: 7 [PL 36, 518]), and Bernard Silvestris, De mundi universitate, ed. C.S. Barach and J. Wrobel (Innsbruck, 1876), 13, "Illic exarata supremi digito dispunctoris textus temporis, fatalis series, dispositio seculorum" (cit. Ibid., 117, nn. 44 and 45).

5. Quaestiones Quodlibetales, ed. R. Spiazzi (Turin/ Rome, 1949), VII, q. 6, a. 1 [14], p.146:

Manifestatio autem vel expressio alicuius veritatis potest fieri de aliquo rebus et verbis; in quantum scilicet verba significant res, et una res potest esse figura alterius. Auctor autem rerum non solum potest verba accommodare ad aliquid significandum, sed etiam res potest disponere in figuram alterius. Et secundum hoc in sacra Scriptura manifestatur veritas dupliciter. Uno modo secundum quod res significantur per verba: et in hoc consistit sensus litteralis. Alio modo secundum quod res sunt figurae aliarum rerum: et in hoc consistit sensus spiritualis, et sic sacrae Scripturae plures sensus competunt.

I cite above the translation provided by E.H. Gombrich in his essay, "Aims and Limits of Iconology", Symbolic Images (1972, rpt. 1978), 13-14.

6. Epistula 53, sec. 8, ed. I. Hilberg, CSEL 54 (1910), 463/ 6-9.
7. Þorvaldur Bjarnarson suggested that this text should be compared with two of Saint Bernard's sermons for the Feast of the Assumption of Mary and with Gregory in Ezechielem, Lib. II, hom. II (Leifar, x). This suggestion is repeated by Þórhallur Þorgilsson, Drög að skrá um ritverk á íslenzku, að fornu og nýju af latneskum eða rómönskum uppruna. II. Ítalía (1958), 37, í 289. Ian Kirby, however, has observed that the last and greater part of the sermon, beginning with the passage quoted above, is a translation

of "a rather better text than that in Migne of PD [i.e., the late redaction of Paul the Deacon's homiliary] Homiliae de Sanctis, no. 48 (Migne 95, 1505-08)" (Biblical Quotation, II, 72). In fact, this text is identical with a sermon for the assumption of Mary attributed to Anselm of Canterbury in the Maurist edition of Anselm's works by Dom Gabriel Gerberon (1675; 2nd ed., 1721, Hom. IX; PL 158, 644-9). André Wilmart has demonstrated that the sermon is actually the work of Archbishop Radulfus of Canterbury (†1122). See "Les Homélies Attribuées à S. Anselme", Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge. 2 (1927), 16-23, and Max Förster, "Die spätenglische Uebersetzung der Pseudo-Anselmschen Marienpredigt", Anglica: Brandl Festschrift in Palæstra 147-148 (1925), 8-69. With the Old Icelandic passage cited above, cf. Radulfus' more expansive Latin text (PL 158, 644D-645B = PL 95, 1505B-C):

In Scriptura sacra res una et eadem multoties invenitur diversa significare, sicut leo, hādus, ignis, aqua, vel etiam sol, et alia multa. Est enim leo de triba Juda (Apoc. V); et est leo, qui circuit quærens quem devoret (I Petr. V). Est hādus emissarius (Levit. XVI), qui peccata nostra portavit, est hādus a sinistris (Matth. XXV), qui damnatur. Est ignis quem Dominus misit in terram, et quem vult ut ardeat (Luc. XII): est ignis, qui super impios cadit, ut non videant solem (Psal. LVII). Est aqua cujus flumina fluunt de ventre credentis (Joan. VII); est aqua cujus tempestas non nos demergat (Matth. XIV). Est Sol justitiæ, qui nos illuminet (Eccli. XLII), et sol qui nos non urat per diem (Psal. CXX). Licet ergo castellum alias malum significet, ut illud de quo dicitur: Ite in castellum: ubi, additur, quod contra vos est, plane manifestatur quid significet; tamen hic castellum, in quod intravit Jesus, singularem et intemeratam Virginem ejusdem Jesu genitricem, salva Scripturarum regula, per similitudinem accipimus...

For very similar remarks on the polysemeity of scriptural figures see, e.g., Augustine, De Doctrina Christiana, CCSL 32, 97-99, III.

xxv (34-37); Aquinas, Quaestiones Quodlibetales, ed. cit., VII, q. 6, a. 1 [14], cit. Gombrich, op. cit., 14 (199, n.16).

8. Quaestiones Quodlibetales, ed. cit., VII, q.6, a.1 14 :

...non est propter defectum auctoritatis quod ex sensu spirituali non potest trahi efficax argumentum; sed ex ipsa natura similitudinis, in qua fundatur spiritualis sensus. Una enim res pluribus similis esse potest; unde non potest ab illa, quando in Scriptura sacra proponitur, procedi ad aliquam illarum determinate...

trans. Gombrich, op. cit., 14.

9. Chenu, op. cit., 120. See De Doctrina Christiana, CCSL 32, 79-99, III, ii(5) - xxvi(37); 37-41. II, vii(11) - ix(14).

10. De Doctrina Christiana, CCSL 32, 86, III. x(14), 5-8, "Et iste omnino modo est, ut quicquid in sermone diuino neque ad morum honestatem neque ad fidei ueritatem proprie referri potest, figuratum esse cognoscas". The translation cited is that of D.W. Robertson, On Christian Doctrine (1958), 88.

11. Chenu, op. cit., 120-121.

12. De Doctrina Christiana, CCSL 32, 35, II.vi (7), 1-7:

Sed multis et multiplicibus obscuritatibus et ambiguitatibus decipiuntur, qui temere legunt, aliud pro alio sentientes, quibusdam autem locis, quid vel falso suspicentur non inueniunt: ita obscure dicta quaedam densissimam caliginem obducunt. Quod totum prouisum esse diuinitus non dubito, ad edomandam labore superbiam et intellectum a fastidio reuocandum, cui facile inuestigata plerumque uilescent.

trans. Robertson, 37. Cf. the concise formula of Aquinas, Summa Theologiae (Ottawa, 1941), tom. 1, 9b, I, q.I, art.ix, "Utrum Sacra Scriptura Debeat Uti Metaphoras":

...ipsa etiam occultatio figurarum utilis est ad

exercitium studiosorum et contra irrisiones infidelium...

Both passages are discussed by Ulrich Krewitt in his illuminating study, Metapher und tropische Rede in der Auffassung des Mittelalters. Beihefte zum "Mittelateinischen Jahrbuch", No. 7 (1971), 120 ff. See Ibid., ch. 3, "Tropenlehre und Bibelhermeneutik", 99-148, on medieval theories of a metaphorical language in scripture, and ch. 13, "Biblische Theologie (Allegorie und Hermeneutik)", 443-456, on the influence of such theories on the medieval use of metaphor.

13. CCSL 32, 35-36, II.vi(7), 18-29:

...Dentes tui sunt grex detonsarum ascendens de lauacro,
quae omnes geminos creant, et sterilis non est in illis?
 Num aliud homo discit, quam cum illud planissimis uerbis
 sine similitudinis huius adminiculo audiret? Et tamen
 nescio quo modo suauius intueor sanctos, cum eos quasi
 dentes ecclesiae uideo praecidere ab erroribus homines
 atque in eius corpus, emollita duritia, quasi demorsos
 mansosque transferre. Oues etiam iucundissime agnosco
 detonsas oneribus saecularibus tamquam uelleribus positis
 et ascendentes de lauacro, id est de baptisate, creare
omnes geminos, duo praecepta dilectionis, et nullam esse
 ab isto sancto fructu sterilem uideo.

trans. Robertson, 37-38.

14. CCSL 32, 36, II.vi(8), 30-34:

Sed quare suauius uideam, quam si nulla de diuinis libris
 talis similitudo promeretur, cum res eadem sit eademque
 cognitio, difficile est dicere et alia quaestio est. Nunc
 tamen nemo ambigit et per similitudines libentius quaeque
 cognosci et cum aliqua difficultate quaesita multo gratius
 inueniri.

15. See, e.g., CCSL 32, 131-132, IV.viii(22)-ix(23), and 137-138, IV.xiv(31), where Augustine belittles the mannerism of Cyprian.
16. Institutio Oratoria, ed. and trans. H.E. Butler. Loeb Classical Library (1920, rpt. 1980), VIII.ii.21:

Ingeniosa haec et fortia et ex ancipiti diserta creduntur, pervasitque iam multos ista persuasio, ut id iam demum eleganter atque exquisite dictum putent, quod interpretandum sit. Sed auditoribus etiam nonnullis grata sunt haec, quae cum intellexerunt acumine suo delectantur et gaudent, non quasi audierint sed quasi invenerint.

17. De Trinitate, XV, ix, 16 (PL 42, 1068D-1069A). For a full discussion of the passage see M.L. Colish, The Mirror of Language (1968), 79. Isidore makes the same distinction between allegoria and aenigma at Etymologiae I, xxxvii, 26:

Inter allegoriam autem et aenigma hoc interest, quod allegoriae vis gemina est res alias aliud figuraliter indicat; aenigma vero est sensus tantum obscurus est, et per quasdam imagines adumbratus.

Cf. too, e.g., Peter Lombard, In Ep. I ad Cor., PL 191, 1662D:

...allegoriae sunt plures species quarum una est quae dicitur aenigma. Aenigma vero est ut breviter explicem, non omnis, sed obscura allegoria. Proinde quantum mihi videtur sicut nomine speciali imaginem significavit, ita nomine aenigmati similitudinem, quamvis obscuram, et ad perspicendam difficilem.

In other words, as D.W. Robertson notes ("Some Medieval Literary Terminology...", Studies in Philology 48 [1951], rpt. in Robertson, Essays in Medieval Culture [1980], 57), "...an enigmatic statement contains a cortex which is itself obscure, whereas the cortex of an allegorical statement may be perfectly clear".

The term normally means simply "a riddle". Cf., e.g. 'Oláfr Hvítaskáld, Málaskrúósfreði (Third Grammatical Treatise), s.v.,

ed. B.M. Olsen STUAGNL 12
(1884), 114, III.16 (60),
252-258:

Enigma ær myrkt sen vm
leynda líking lvtanna,
sem her:
fara ek sa
folldar molldbva
a sat nár aná .
Þaskonar figurv kþllvm
ver gátv, ok ær hon íafnan
sett ískálldskap.

Donatus, Ars Maior, III, cit.
Ibid., 114, n.

Aenigma est obscura sententia
per occultam similitudinem rerum,
ut:
Mater me genuit, eadem mox
gignitur ex me ,
cum significet aquam in glaciem
concrecere et ex eadem rursus
effluere.

18. Cicero, De Oratore, ed. and trans. H. Rackham, Loeb Classical
Library (1968), III.xli-xlii (166-167):

...Sumpta re simili verba eius rei propria deinceps in rem
aliam, ut dixi transferuntur. Est hoc magnum ornamentum
orationis. In quo obscuritas fugienda est: etenim ex hoc
genere fiunt ea quae dicuntur aenigmata...

19. Institutio Oratoria, ed. cit., VIII,vi,52:

Sed allegoria, quae est obscurior, aenigma dicitur;
vitium meo quidem iudicio, si quidem dicere dilucide
virtus...

Cf. other admonitions to avoid "bold" and extended metaphors:

Cicero, De Oratore, III.xli (163); anon., Rhetorica ad Herennium
IV, 34, 45. See Harald Weinreich, "Semantik der kühnen Metapher",
Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift 37 (1963), 324f.

20. De Trinitate, XV,ix,16, PL 42, 1069C. Cf. Augustine, Epistola
CLXXX, CSEL 34 (1895), pars 3, 697-700. Johan Chydenius ("The
Symbolism of Love in Medieval Thought", Commentationes Humanarum
Litterarum, vol. 44, 1,23) discusses a very similar interpretation
of the Song of Solomon by Abbot Claudius, the pupil of Gregory
the Great:

...This is a system of communication in which God speaks

in riddles in order to be understood by the sleeping soul. [Idcirco per quædam ænigmata sermo divinus animæ torpentis et frigida loquitur, et de rebus quas novit, latenter insinuat ei amorem quem non novit. (PL 79, 473A)] He uses words that have a double sense: the outward sense which designates things known by man, and the inward sense which designates something which he does not know [Ibid., 473A]. By solving the riddle, man finds the inward sense. Allegory becomes, in Claudius' own words, a "machine" by which the soul that lives remote from God is lifted up to him [Ibid., 473A-B].

For a discussion of similar medieval treatments of the term aenigma (esp. in connection with 1 Cor. 13: 12), see Peter Dronke, Fabula, Mittellateinische Studien, Bd. IX (1974), 32-47 (esp. 44ff.); Robert Javelet, Image et Ressemblance au douzième siècle (1967), I, 376-390; Ian Bishop, Pearl in its Setting (Oxford, 1968), 66-72. Gombrich, op. cit., 14, emphasizes that meditative riddle-solving was not merely an idle pastime for the medieval exegete:

...The monk in his cell had only few texts to read and reread, to ponder and to interpret, and the finding of meanings was one of the most satisfying ways of employing these hours of study. Nor was this merely a matter for idle minds seeking employment for their ingenuity. Once it was accepted that revelation had spoken to man in riddles, these riddles embodied in the Scriptures... demanded to be unravelled again and again, to provide the answers for the problems of nature and history. The technique of finding meanings would help the priest composing his sermons day in and day out on given texts which had to be applied to the changing events of the community, it would sanction the reading of pagan poets, which would otherwise have to be banished from the monastic libraries, it would give added significance to the fittings of the church and to the performance of sacred rites.

Edgar de Bruyne has suggested that the same love of riddles fostered the tortuous obscurities of Hesperic Latin style (Etudes d'Esthétique Médiévale [1946] I, 125): "Pour le médiéval 'hispanique' tout poème, pour être beau, semble devoir être un problème à résoudre." (Cf., e.g., B. Huppé, Doctrine and Poetry [1959], 55-56.)

21. De Oratore, here trans. E.W. Sutton, Loeb Classical Library (1942), III. 38, 155:

...sic verbi translatio instituta est inopiae causa,
frequentata dilectionis.

22. Aquinas (Summa Theologiae I, q.1, art.Ix-x) observes that while secular poets make use of metaphors "propter repraesentationem", the authors of books of the Bible do so "propter necessitatem et utilitatem" (cf. Krewitt, op.cit., 454-455). Gregory in his Moralia in Job remarks repeatedly that the Creator deliberately humbles himself in allowing figures like "God's arm" or "His voice" to appear in Scripture that he might be the more easily understood by men: "...Ad parvitatem igitur nostram divinus sermo se attrahit: sicut pater cum parvulo filio loquitur, ut ab eo possit intelligi, sponte balbutit." (XIX 8, PL 76, 105A); "...usque ad nostra se humiliat, atque ut alta insinuet, humilibus condescendit, quatenus parvulorum animus rebus cognitivis enutritus, ad inquirenda exurgat incognita..." (XXX 11,7, PL 76, 638A). (On these and similar passages from the Moralia see Hans-Dietrich Kahl, "Papst Gregor der Grosse und die christliche Terminologie der Angelsachsen", Zeitschrift für Missions- und Religionswissenschaft [1956], 192ff.).

23. Cf. Erigena's translation, De Caelesti Hierarchia, cap.1, PL 122, 1038C-D, cited here after Aquinas, Summa Theologiae, I, q.1, art.9.

24. Dionysius argued that celestial things manifest themselves not only by affirmation, by means of beautiful similitudes, but also by negation, through deliberately gross symbols which bear no resemblance to the objects they symbolize. Moreover (as Peter Dronke summarizes, Fabula, 44):

...the second mode is "more suited to the darkness of arcane matters"...because with incongruous images there is less danger of illusion, of the image's being mistaken for the supernatural reality which it symbolizes.

(Cf. De coelesti hierarchia, cap. 2, ed. R. Roques, G. Heil, M. de Gandillac, Sources chrétiennes, 58 [2nd ed., 1970], 74ff.

= PG 3, 137, 140, 141, Erigena's translation, PL 122, 1039-44.

See also Gombrich, "Icones Symbolicae", Symbolic Images, 150-152.)

Chenu stresses the importance of the pseudo-Areopagite's theory for medieval thought:

It was from pseudo-Dionysius that medieval man enunciated the primary law of symbolism. The essential appeal of his dialectic, his "demonstration", seems to have been that it bridged the apparently nontraversable gap that the mind perceived between two realities otherwise akin; to join these two realities within a single symbol was to put the mind into secret contact with transcendent reality, not without a sense of inward exaltation, and certainly with an affective response that inspired poetic creativity.

(op. cit., 131; see also Dronke, op. cit., 44ff.)

25. See below, n.35.

26. Chenu, op. cit., 126-127. On Augustine's theory of signs see De doctrina christiana II. xi (16)-xv (22), CCSL 32, 42-48; III, i (1)-iv (8), CCSL 32, 77-82; and Colish, op. cit., 59ff. See also H.M. Féret, "Sacramentum, Res dans la langue théologique de Saint Augustin", Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques 22 (1940), 218-43.

27. See Chenu, 131-132:

...the figural interpretation featured by biblical exegesis drew rather upon Augustine's "signs" than upon the anagogy of pseudo-Dionysius; the latter was the master of symbolic metaphysics, hardly the master of biblical typology....

In the area of liturgy, privileged province of the symbol in action, the failure was even more evident, for the most realistic elements -- water, light, fire, a meal, a table -- were handled rather as materials for allegorical instruction than as things having power to represent the mystery to those initiated into it. Thus the mass tended to become a sophisticated and complex figure of the episodes of the passion instead of a sacrificial meal.

28. Cf., for instance, the procedure of the so-called "Stave-Church Homily", preserved in Nhom., Sthom., AM 237 folio and AM 624 4to, in which spiritual and moral significances are assigned to the various parts and furnishings of a church-building. (See esp. G. Turville-Petre, "The Old Norse Homily on the Dedication", MS 11 [1949], 206-218, rpt. with a postscript in s.a., Nine Norse Studies [1972], 79-101; H. Bekker-Nielsen, "The Old Norse Dedication Homily", Festschrift für Konstantin Reichardt, ed. C. Gellinek [1969], 127-134; s.a., "Kirkedagsprædiken", Sjötfu Ritgerðir helgaðar Jakobi Benediktssyni, ed. Einar G. Pétursson and Jónas Kristjánsson [1977], 93-99.) One of the sermones ad populum in Nhom. includes a similar allegorical treatment of the church-bell (Nhom. 71/ 5-22):

Cloccan iartægnir trvmbu-líoð þat er vér erom aller upp
vacter með til myccla moz er domaðagr hæitir...En tre
þat er cloccan er við fæst. iartægnir cros almategs guðs.
En strengirner er niðr hanga ór. iartæгна boðorð guðs. en
kirkian iartægnir paradisi...

(For a somewhat similar text see J.B. Trahern, "Amalarius be Becnum: A fragment of the Liber Officialis in Old English", Anglia 91 [1973], 475-8.) See also the allegorical anatomies of the ship and

rainbow in AM 673a 4to (discussed by E. Kölbing, "Geistliche Auslegung von Schiff und Regenbogen", ZfdA 23 [1879], 258-61; L. Larsson, "Nochmals Schiff und Regenbogen", ZfdA 35 [1891], 244-248; J.W. Marchand, "Two Notes on the Old Icelandic Physiologus Manuscript", MLN 91 [1976], 503-505; s.a., "The Ship Allegory in the Ezzolied and in Old Icelandic", Neophilologus 60 [1976], 238-250).

29. Chenu, 142-143.

This exegetical zeal for allegory was accompanied by a desire to organize and catalogue the mass of figurative phrases discovered and analysed by generations of biblical scholars. Just as the author of the Rhetorica ad Herennium had advised that "the invention of Comparisons will be easy if one can frequently set before one's eyes everything animate and inanimate... of the earth, sky and sea,... and can amongst these hunt out some likeness which is capable of embellishing or proving or clarifying or vivifying" (Harry Caplan's translation, Loeb Classical Library [1954, rpt. 1977], IV, xlvi, 61), so Augustine had counselled the Christian reader not to neglect the book of nature, but to familiarize himself with the properties of animals, stones, and plants that he might the more easily make sense of figurative expressions like Christ's exhortation to be "wise like serpents" (Matt. 10: 16, De doctrina christiana II, xvi(24); cf., e.g., the conventional interpretation of this verse, probably based on a text of the Physiologus, at Sthom. 158/ 2-12). To this end, he recommended the use of various biblical aids, organized scriptural lexicons and encyclopædias, and noted that many such works had already been compiled by Christian scholars (De doctrina christiana II, xxxix[59]). To the reference works for preachers which had begun to be compiled in Augustine's own day -- the

bestiaries, lapidaries and herbals -- later students of the spiritual senses of the Scriptures were to add ever more specialized study aids and claves scripturae, culminating in the elaborate "spiritual dictionaries" of the twelfth century -- the books of distinctiones. (On the indirect debt of such attempts to systematize the study of scriptural allegory to Augustine, see Étienne Gilson, Introduction à l'étude de St Augustin [Paris, 1931], 152, n.1. Friedrich Ohly, "Vom geistigen Sinn des Wortes im Mittelalter", ZfdA 89 [1958], 1-23, provides a survey of spiritual dictionaries. On the distinctiones see, e.g., Chenu, "The Symbolist Mentality", 111 and n.33, and La Théologie au douzième siècle [1957] 191-209; Beryl Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages [1940, rpt. 1970], 246-248 and refs., and esp. R.H. and M.A. Rouse, "Biblical Distinctions in the Thirteenth Century", Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge 41 [1974], 27-37, and bibliography.) Some of the distinctiones monasticae are printed by J.B. Pitra, Spicilegium Solesmense (1852-58), vols II and III, as part of his Clavis S. Melitonis. A selection has been edited more recently by André Wilmart, "Un Répertoire d'Exégèse Composé en Angleterre vers le Début du XIIIe Siècle", Mémorial Lagrange (1940), 307-346. Cf. also texts such as pseudo-Rabanus Maurus' Allegoriae in sacram scripturam (PL 112, 977ff, now attributed to Garnier de Rochefort [† c.1216]; see Wilmart, "Les Allégories attribuées à Raban Maur", Revue Bénédictine [1920], 47-56) and Alan of Lille's Distinctiones Dictionum Theologicalium (PL 210, 815ff.; on this text see G. Evans, "Alan of Lille's Distinctiones and the problem of theological language", Sacris Erudiri 24 [1980], 67-86). Some of these works were exhaustive treatments of a single topic, such as Peter of Celle's Liber de panibus (PL 202, 927-1046), an allegorical interpretation of every biblical verse which mentions bread. (Chenu notes ["The Symbolist Mentality", 111] that John of Salisbury asked Peter for a similar

work devoted to texts about wine and the vineyard.) The distinct-iones, however, most often took the form of an elaborate dictionary in which key-words, arranged alphabetically, were accompanied by biblical verses illustrating their allegorical senses. Jonna Louis-Jensen has recently suggested that such a work may have influenced 'Oláfr Hvítaskáld in his analysis of two Christian skaldic stanzas used to illustrate the figures paradigma and parabola in his Mál-skrúðsfræði ("Vöndr er Mária mynduó", Speculum Norroenum [1981], 328-336).

30. De doctrina christiana II, vi(7), CCSL 32, 37/ 4-8.
31. See examples cited above, n.15.
32. Exponendo metaphoras was recommended as a method of amplification in the artes praedicandi of the thirteenth century. See T.M. Charland, Artes Praedicandi (1936), 204-205:

Supposons qu'il s'agisse de développer l'autorité Egredietur virga de radice Jesse, et flos de radice ejus ascendet (Is. XI, 1), en rapport avec la Bienheureuse Vierge Marie et son Fils. On pourra s'étendre sur les propriétés de la tige, sur celles de la racine, sur celles de la fleur, soit de la fleur en général, soit de telle fleur en particulier, et faire des applications à Marie et à son Fils.

Ce procédé est évidemment plus à la portée de ceux qui connaissent bien les propriétés des choses. Mais, indépendamment de la science de ceux qui s'en servent, c'est le procédé le plus facile avec des autorités contenant des locutions figurées. Les locutions de ce genre sont plus fécondes que les autres. Bien appropriées, elles plaisent davantage et se gravent plus profondément dans la mémoire que les locutions ordinaires, étant plus en conformité avec notre mode naturel de connaître per conversionem ad phantasmata. De là vient l'usage fréquent des locutions symboliques dans l'Écriture.

Cf. numbers 2, 3, 5 and 7 of the topics of expansion listed by

Harry Caplan, "Classical Rhetoric and the Mediaeval Theory of Preaching", Classical Philology 28 (1933), 88-89. Caplan mentions (89) that "among the mediaeval books which 'Henry of Hesse' advises for supplementary use by the preacher is the Book of Similitudes, the Summa de exemplis et rerum similitudinibus libris decem constans (ca. 1300)". Aids like the books of distinctiones would clearly have been of great service for this aspect of sermon composition. (See esp. Beryl Smalley, op.cit., 248.)

33. Cf. Ælfric's rendering of the same Gregorian text in his homily for the twenty-first Sunday after Pentecost (CH I, 522/ 22-29):

...Hwæt getacniað þa fearras buton fæderas ðære ealdan æ?
 Hwæt wæron hi, buton fearra gelican, þaða hi, mid leafe þære
 ealdan æ, heora fynd mid horne lichamlicere mihte potedon?
 Ða gemæstan fugelas getacniað þa halgan lareowas þære
 Niwan Gecyðnyse. Ða sind gemæste mid gife þæs Halgan Gastes
 to ðam swiðe, þæt hi wilniað þæs upplīcan færeldes mid fyðerum
gastlicere drohtnunge.

34. The early homilists do not, on the whole, appear to have been indiscriminate in their imitation of the figurative language of their Latin sources. Most translators seem to have carefully considered the capacities of their audience in dealing with difficult metaphors, and to have excised those which could become obstacles to understanding. Cf., e.g.,

Sthom., 14/ 14-15:
Segia mon ek yþr fyr hui
 greopareN kallape ioan
 liosker...

Caesarius 216, CCSL 104, 860 [815/24-26]:
 Quare autem beatum Iohannem dominus
 et salvator noster lucernam esse
 dixerit...caritatis vestrae auribus
cupimus intimare.

Sthom., 50/ 11-12:
 ...sa er iþrasc i hugnom oc
eige hverfr allt til leip-
eNda synþareNar...

Ps. Aug. 117 (= Sedatus of Nîmes; see
Clavis Patrum 1006), PL 39, 1977/32-33 :
 ...quis ex corde pœnituerit, et ad vom-
itum peccati reversus non fuerit...

Sthom. 50/24-25:

Haltu hogværeNe. þuiat þu
frestaðer hefndeNe...

Ibid., 1977/57-58:

Serva pietatem mansuetudinis, qui
tamdiu suspendisti gladium ultionis...

Sthom. 53/33-35:

...oc afþui varþveiteþer þa
hlute er ec kenda. at báþe
mega ek nióta batnaþar yþvars
oc yþr laþe miscunsamr
dróttEN i himneskar vister...

Ibid., 1981/9-13:

Et ideo servate quæ dixi, ut de
vobis fructum habeam, et vos omnes
in cælestibus horreis, ubi frumenta
congreganda sunt, misericors Dominus
intromittat...

Sthom. 55/29-30:

Sleítz þu bænd ór drotten.
nu monom ver lofa þic.

Bede I.11, CCSL 122, 77/144-145 (Ps.
115:16):

Disrupisti uincula mea, tibi
sacrificabo hostiam laudis.

Sthom. 87/7-8:

...þa raNsake nu hverR
siálfan sik hve þeck hann
látr ser guþs boþ.

Gr. 18 in Ev., PL 76, 1150B:

...interroget se unusquisque si
verba Dei in aure cordis percipit...

Sthom. 87/12-13:

Virþe nu þa hverR uarr hverso
ér hafep þesse guþs boþ. oc
reyneþer i þui hvárt ér erop
guþs meN.

Ibid., 1150B-C:

Penset ergo apud se unusquisque si
hæc vox Dei in cordis ejus aure
convault, et quia jam ex Deo sit
cognoscit.

Sthom. 87/39 - 88/2:

Huat er oss þa i þui keNt.
nema þat at ver scolom eige
illyrbom beriasc við mefn-
gerþar meN óra þo at til sé
þat of þa at reóþa es þeim
se kiNroþe at.

Gr. 18 in Ev., PL 76, 1151B:

Ex qua re quid nobis innuitur, nisi
ut eo tempore quo a proximis ex falsi-
tate contumelias accipimus, eorum
etiam vera mala taceamus, ne minister-
ium justæ correptionis in arma vertamus
furoris.

Sthom. 216/3-4:

...þar í gegn es su vesol
oc mikels gráts verþr [sic]...

Caesarius 187, CCSL 104, 764 [724/33-34]:

...e contrario quam infelix est illa
conscientia, et toto lacrimarum fonte
lugenda...

Sthom. 216/ 8-10:

...þeyge scal sa ifa of
drottens millde at heldr
þót slícr sé. oc eige
orvilnasc. heldr reNe hann
til iþronar sem brápast.

Ibid., 765 [725/ 7-8]:

Non tamen de domini pietate
diffidat, qui talis est, nec mortifera
desperatione frangatur, sed
magis ad paenitentiam cito recurrat...

Sthom. 218/ 22-24:

Oc eN mun ec iNa faðm þeim
orþom þaz nu málta ec til
þess at bápe sé. at ér
munep at lengr oc scileþ at
betr.

Caesarius 188, CCSL 104,769 [729/14-15]:

Et ut haec quae suggestimus sensibus
vestrae caritatis tenacius inhaereant,
breviter quae dicta sunt iteramus.

It would clearly be wrong, however, to conclude that such examples reflect a general distaste for latinate metaphors on the part of these translators. For all of the sermons just cited also contain examples of metaphors taken over wholesale from their Latin models. (Most of these are cited in the course of this chapter.)

On occasion, the early translators even overgo their Latin sources in their use of figurative expressions. The version of Alcuin's De Virtutibus et Vitiis preserved in Nhom., for instance, contains a few interesting examples of figures which are at once more homely and more evocative than those found in the Latin. (Ole Widding has shown from a comparison of the Nhom. text with the versions preserved fragmentarily in mss. AM 56 8vo and AM 685d 4to that the Homily Book version bears the marks of a redactor who has endeavoured to polish the prose of the original translation and to purify it of stilted latinisms. His changes are sufficiently numerous, Widding argues, "at de má være udtryk for en bevidst vilje til at modernisere og at opløse de værste stilkknuder" [Ed. Arn. A.4, 1960, 12]):

Nhom. 17/ 2-3:

Ræin-lifi með lítil-láte man hafa
lannz-bygð hælags anda...
cf. AM 685d 4to, ed. Widding; 90/8-9:
...mun avdlaz bygd heilags anda...

Alc. VV, PL 101, 626C:

Castitas cum humilitate,
Spiritus sancti merebitur
habitationem...

Nhom. 31/ 4-5:

Þesser aller lutir fara á-brout. ok
líða umb sem scuggi fogls.

cf. AM 685d 4to, ed. Widding,
134/ 5-6:

...ero sem fvgls skvgge. ok líða
vm ok burt fra manni...

Ibid., 638A:

...quæ omnia velut
volatilis umbra recedunt
et transeunt...

The reviser also seems to have introduced at least one interesting metaphorical compound found neither in Alc. VV nor, to judge from the texts preserved in AM 685d 4to and AM 55 8vo, in the original version of the ON translation:

Nhom. 19/ 25-26:

HVerr er rét-dømr er. hann ber
ret-lætes veg [Indrebø: "Soleis =
(vág)"] í hendi sér. ok innan
hanndar ber hann hvartvæggia
ret-læte ok miscunn.

Alc. VV, PL 101, 628C:

Omnis qui recte iudicat,
stateram in manu gestat.
In utroque sensu [Ms. pensu]
justitiam et misericordiam
portat...

cf. AM 42a, 8vo, ed. Widding, 139/ 4-5:

...hefer rietlætis wog j hendi sier...

AM 685d 4to, ed. Widding, 98/ 5-6:

...hann ber j hende tvifallda vætt. j huaritveggiv vog hafi hann
rettlæti ok myskunn.

AM 55, 8vo, ed. Widding, 141/ 17-19:

...hann ber j hendi tvefallda uóg. j hvorutuegiu vóg hef hann
Riettlæti og myskun firi Riettlæti.

(Marius Hægstad, Vestnorske Maalføre fyre 1350, NVAOS, II. Hist.-Fil.

Kl., No. 1, 1907 [1908], 51, suggests that the form retlætesveg
for -vág should be compared with OE wæge.) Ernst Walter notes

(Lex. Lehn., 81) that the compound "ist insofern interessant, als es
zeigt, daß dem Übersetzer aus der Literatur oder der bildenden Kunst
schon bekannt gewesen sein muß, daß die römische Göttin Iustitia
die Waage als Attribut hatte". (Cf. perhaps Fredrik Paasche's
discussion, in Hedenskap og Kristendom [1948], 73-74, of references

to St Michael's scales in OWN literature -- e.g., Arnórr Jarlaskáld, 7: 1, Skjð A I, 353; Njáls saga, k. 100, ÍF 12 [1954], 257/12-15.) It seems equally likely, however, that the reviser of Alc. VV may simply have had in mind Job 31:6, Appendat me in statera justa.

Réttlætisvág is also found in Thóm. II, I. 112/22, and Maríu s., 1140/34. Cf. the figure skynsemdar vág used in Jóns s. helga B, Bisk. I, 233/28-29.

35. Such metaphorical compounds remind one of an observation of Augustine's alluded to by Chenu (op.cit., 126-127, see above, p. 289). In his eightieth tractate on the Gospel of John (CCSL 36, 529, sec. 3, 1-7), he makes the following remarks concerning the significance of John 15:3:

"Iam nos mundi estis propter uerbum quod locutus sum uobis." Quare non ait, mundi estis propter baptismum quo loti estis, sed ait: "propter uerbum quod locutus sum uobis", nisi quia et in aqua uerbum mundat? Detrahe uerbum, et quid est aqua nisi aqua? Accedit uerbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum, etiam ipsum tamquam uisibile uerbum.

36. Analecta Reginensia, Studi e Testi L (1933), 98ff.

37. The enumeration of the significant events which occurred at the time of Christ's birth is, as James Marchand has pointed out ("The Old Norwegian Christmas Homily and the Question of Irish Influence", Arv 31 [1975], 27), "a tradition in Christmas sermons. Ultimately, the tradition derives from the miracles connected with Emperor Octavianus Augustus, related by various Roman historians and later amplified and applied to the birth of Christ". Some of the events and wonders mentioned in the Old Icelandic homily -- the golden ring around the sun, the pax Romana, the fountain of oil -- are referred to in Orosius' Historia aduersum paganos (ed. C. Zange-meister, CSEL 5 [1882], VI.xx.5-8; see further E. von Frauenholz,

"Imperator Octavianus Augustus in der Geschichte und Sage des Mittelalters", Historisches Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft 46 [1926], 86-122, and H.F. Massmann, Der keiser und der kunige buoch oder die sogenannte Kaiserchronik [1844-54], Abt.3, 547-69). The only Latin analogue for Sthom. 46/31ff. cited by both Kirby (Biblical Quotation II, 54, n.9) and Andrea van Arkel (13, item 16) is the opening of the first chapter of pseudo-Alcuin's De Divinis Officiis Liber, "Cur Nativitas Domini Celebratur" (PL 101, 1173ff.), although, as Kirby admits, "this is clearly not the source". Mattias Tveitane, however, draws attention to the close similarity between details in the Icelandic sermon and the Catéchèses Celtiques text in his article, "Irish apocrypha in Norse tradition? On the sources of some medieval homilies", Arv 22 (1966), 111-135. Marchand rightly criticizes Tveitane's over-enthusiastic references to this text as "the Latin source" (Ibid., 123-125 passim), and emphasizes that "both the sermon in Homil [Sthom.] and that in the Catéchèses are simply fabricated from the usual mirabilia found in Christmas sermons", ("...Question of Irish influence", 29; he cites numerous similar treatments, 27-28: Nicholas of Clairvaux PL 184, 828ff.; Peter Damian PL 144, 828; Rabanus Maurus PL 110, 466ff.; Elucidarius I, nos. 132-134, ed. Y. Lefèvre [1954], 385, cf. Hauksbók, 483; Annolied 31, 4ff.; Kaiserchronik 695ff.; Innocent III, PL 217, 475f.). However, his remark (29) that "Alcuin (PL 101. 1174f.) offers as good a parallel" as Catéchèses Celtiques for the Sthom. text is hard to understand, and until sources and analogues for this homily have been more thoroughly investigated, the text in Catéchèses Celtiques remains the most useful Latin analogue for the main part of the sermon. The principal points of correspondence between the two texts are as follows: Sthom. 46/15-19, Cat. Celt. 98/12-15; Sthom. 46/21-25,

Cat. Celt. 101/84-90; Sthom. 46/31-32, Cat. Celt. 99/17-18; Sthom. 46/36 - 47/3, Cat. Celt. 99/19-22; Sthom. 47/3-5, Cat. Celt. 99/23-26; Sthom. 47/6-10, Cat. Celt. 99/30-32; Sthom. 47/10-13, Cat. Celt. 99/27-29, 100/50-56; Sthom. 47/13-18, Cat. Celt. 99/42-45 (both texts cite Matt. 24:29); Sthom. 47/18-22, Cat. Celt. 99/33-38 (both texts cite Mal. 4:2); Sthom. 47/24-29, Cat. Celt. 100/57-62; Sthom. 48/5-10, Cat. Celt. 101/100-103 (John 6:41, cited in Cat. Celt., alluded to in Sthom.); Sthom. 48/10-18, Cat. Celt. 101/121-125; Sthom. 48/18-22, Cat. Celt. 101/115, 118-120.

Some other texts worth comparing with the treatment of events at Christ's birth in this Old Icelandic Christmas sermon are Nhom. 31/24ff., "De natiuitate domini sermo" (see, e.g., Olufkolsrud, "Ei norsk joledagspreika frá umlag ár 1200", Norsk jol [Bergen, 1927], 4-5; on the parallel motif of the "midnight sun" Nhom. 32/26ff., Sthom. 47/18ff., Tveitane, op.cit., passim, esp. 123ff.), and Vercelli Homilies V and VI (ed. M. Förster, Die Vercelli-Homilien, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa 12 [1932, rpt. 1964], 107-137), parts of which are derived from sources similar to those used by the Icelandic homilist, i.e., ^{draw} on information like that supplied by the text in Catéchèses Celtiques (see Tveitane, op.cit., passim; Rudolf Willard, review of Förster's edition of the Vercelli homilies, Speculum 9 [1934], 229-30; J.E. Cross, "Portents and events at Christ's birth: comments on Vercelli V and VI and the Old English Martyrology", Anglo-Saxon England 2 [1973], 209-220).

The peroration of the Old Icelandic Christmas homily is preceded by an excursus on the commonplace theme of the "transience of life" (Sthom. 49/9-22) which may be compared with some of the Latin and Old English versions of the "ubi sunt" motif

examined by James Cross ("Ubi Sunt' passages in Old English", Vetenskaps-Societeten i Lund. Årsbok [1956], 23-44; "The Dry Bones Speak - a theme in some Old English homilies", JEGP 56[1957], 434-439).

Finally, it is interesting to note that Karel Vrátňý, in his "Textkritische Nachlese zum Stockholmer Homilienbuch" (ANF 33 [1917], 145), makes the following correction of the ms. reading at Sthom. 46:37, in the passage on the ring around the sun: "gob-legr lies gollegr (aureus)". One can only speculate as to whether this emendation is based on a combination of common sense and a familiarity with the traditional list of miracles at Christ's birth, or whether ^{Vrátňý} had a specific Latin text in mind (or in front of him) when making this emendation. On texts of the mirabilia which contain the phrase circulus aureus see Cross, "'De Signis et Prodigis' in Versus Sancti Patricii Episcopi de Mirabilibus Hibernie", Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy 71C (1971), 249-250, and "Portents...", 210, n.5.

38. Catéchèses Celtiques provides no parallel for this passage.
39. For further examples of the compound miskunnarbrunnr see pp. 440-441. With viþsmior allrar sálo cf. Niðrstigningar saga, HMS II, 3/9, 9/11 miscunnarsmior, 18/20 myskunar vidsmior (= oleum misericordiae, Evangelium Nicodemi, cap.19, ed. Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocrypha, 394/11).
40. Cf. the use of the compound fagnaðarpenningr in the Old Icelandic Elucidarius:

674A 4to (København, 1869) 62/2-4:	Lefèvre, 474/4-6:
...& taka þo aller í eino huse fopor <u>eiN fagnaðarpenning</u> , af syn Guðs & samlage engla...	...tamen omnes unam domum Patris...et <u>unum denarium</u> de visione Dei et consortio angelorum percipient.

See Salvesen, 31:

...(gledens mynt, gledelig belønning) "pennyworth of happiness", ...here the ON compound is emphatic for the the simplex denarius; for the significance of the penny see Matt. 20:1-16.

41. Den lærde stil..., 58.

42. "Jærtegn og Marfu Saga", in Norrøn Fortællekunst (1965), 132-136.

43. Cf. the Latin analogues for the story in, e.g., Vincent of Beauvais, Speculum Historiale XIII, 77, 532a:

Alius quoque vir mercator, et diues, diuitiis suis prodige vtens: cum tandem ad ignominiosam paupertatem deuenisset...

and "Appendix ad Catalogum codd. hagiog. civit. Namurcensis", Analecta Bollandiana II (1883), 154/3-5:

...Hic itaque vir de quo nobis sermo est, fertilitate diuitiarum suarum dapsiliter et prodige utens, et in posterum non præcauens, ad ultimum ad ignominiosam peruenit paupertatem.

(See Widding, "Kilderne til den norrøne Nicolaus saga", Bibl. Arn. 25.1 [1961], 17-26.)

44. Lex. Lehn., 137-138.

45. See Ibid., 138 and refs.; cf. Tveitane, Den lærde stil..., 88-92.

46. It is, of course, not surprising that exegetical works like the early homilies in particular should become overburdened with substantives, since nouns are more amenable to allegorical analysis than are verbs. Cf., e.g., Barbara Nolan's remarks on Bede's Explanatio Apocalypsis (The Gothic Visionary Perspective [1977], 6):

...in his interpretations of all John's vivid, often bizarre imagery, Bede is preeminently interested in nouns and adjectives, not in verbs, in moral essences, not in historical or narrative action, and in the verbal play which can lead by logic to the inner moral significance of the Divine Word.

47. JEGP 38 (1939), 116.
48. Kulturtradisjon fra en Storhetstid (1948), 281. Berulfsen adds, however, "Men det er også mulig at bilder og metaforer blir mer raffinerte i vår bokheim i det 13. og 14. hdr. Iallfall er bruken mer fortettet i de romantiske sagaen" (Ibid., 281). He discusses examples of metaphors borrowed from a Latin ecclesiastical tradition in the Norwegian episcopal correspondence of the fourteenth century (282ff.).
49. Lex. Lehn., 14:
- Wir können...der Qualität und der Technik der Übersetzungen entnehmen, wie weit die Aneignung der lateinischen Sprache gediehen war. Wenn wir bedenken, mit welchen begrifflichen und terminologischen Schwierigkeiten eine Sprache von Bauern und Fischern dabei zu kämpfen hatte, darf man den Nordleuten die Anerkennung nicht versagen. Der Umgang mit der komplizierten Reim- und Kenningtechnik der bei Norwegern und Isländern hoch geschätzten Skaldendichtung hatte wohl dazu beigetragen, die sprachliche Ausdrucksfähigkeit zu schulen.
50. Ritunartími Islendingasagna (1965), 137. Cf. Rudolf Meissner, Die Kenningar der Skalden (1921), § 62, "Brust, Sinn, Herz", 134-138. e.g., Guðrúnarkviða I.14, hugborg; Snorri Sturluson, Háttatal 51, borg vilja; Gamli kanóki, Harmsól 1, óðborgar hlið (Fr. Paasche, Kristendom og Kvad [1914], 110, rpt. in Hedenskap og Kristendom [1948], 143, compares Col. 4:3 ostium sermonis); Líknarbraut 1, óðrann. E.A. Kock argues against the reading sefborg (elements separated by tmesis) in Egill Skallagrímsson, lv. 15 (Skjld B I, 45-46; see Not. Norr. 2420, 2986D).
51. See Hans Bekker-Nielsen, "Caesarius af Arles som kilde til norrøne homilier", Bibl. Arn. 25.1 (1961), 10-16.

52. A second, independent translation of Caesarius 227 preserved in Sthom. and in AM 672 4to has, instead of hiartahæll, the less memorable phrase byGp hiarta várs (Sthom. 193/10; Mess. 63/29; on the independence of the two translations see Bekker-Nielsen, op.cit., 13). For further examples of the Latin metaphor see, e.g., Augustine, Confessions VIII.8, init., "in cubiculo nostro, corde meo"; X.8, "lata praetoria memoriae...in aula ingenti memoriae meae"; Thes. Ling. Lat., s.vv. domus I B 2d, 2.aula II 4, castellum I. B, habitaculum I. B. 2d. 3. 4b, hospitium II. A. 2 γ, δ ; Manz 405 hospitium cordis. See also R.D. Cornelius, The Figurative Castle (1930); G.R. Owst, Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England (1961), 77-85; M.A. Manzaloui, "The struggle for the House of the Soul: Augustine and Spenser", Notes and Queries 206 (1961), 420-422. In the Homily Books cf., e.g.:

Sthom. 43/6-8 (Nhom. 146/31-32):

...ef vér...rekom a braut þys liótra hugreNinga fra byrge hugar várs...

Sthom. 102/12-15 (Nhom. 99/4-7):

Afpui es oss nauþsyn...at vér hreinsem brióst kirkio órrar. svát etke fiNe Guþ i mustere síno því es ver siálfer erom þat es hann styGvesc víþ.

Nhom. 69/16-20:

Rennum vér ámot Cristí...ok laðum hann með miskunnar vercum til mysteres hiarta vars...at hann læiði os in í mystere dýrðar sinnar...

Nhom. 84/11-12:

Hus vár andleg ero briost vár. því at í þeim byggua allar hugrenningar.

Gr. 22 in Ev., PL 76, 1178B:

Quid enim spiritualiter domos nisi mentes nostras accipimus, in quibus per cogitationem inhabitamus?

In using the hall-of-the heart "kenning", Christian skalds would also often seem to have the Latin metaphor in mind. Cf. esp. Kolbeinn Tumason, lv. 9 (Skjð A II, 40), "ryttv roðla gramr/...hverri sorg/ or hiarta borg"; Líknarbraut 4 (Skjð A II, 151), "Þríf gædir láttu þíodar/ þíns annða mer skína/ ástar líos.../ al biart í sal híarta"; Nikulásdrápa 2 (Skjð A II, 160), "Jon lavt i holl hreinvm/ hiarta sals hins biarta/ meylar manviz frægrar/ milldingi bragninga". (The compound hjärtaborg is also used by the author of the B-recension of Agúlanduspáttir in Karlamagnús saga, ed. C.R. Unger [1860], 191/2, 244/28.)

The figures luklar gobgerninga and himinríkiss dyR used to render bonorum operum claves and ianua regni caelestis at Sthom. 93/11-12 are paralleled in the translation of the same passage at Sthom. 193/13-14 (Mess. 63/32-33): lvclar gópra verka, dyR himinríkiss. Cf. Sthom. 93/13 himinríkiss dyR, Sthom. 193/14-15 (Mess. 63/33-34) dyr eilífs lífs, dyR lífs = Caesarius 227, CCSL 104, 897 [852/18-19], vitae ianua. Similar figures are, of course, commonplace in the Homily Books: dyrr himna ríkis/ himinríkis dyrr, Sthom. 62/31 (H.L. Spencer, MS 44 [1982], 287/60, cf. J. Turville-Petre Traditio 19 [1963], 59, ianua regni caelestis); Sthom. 64/7 (Spencer, 291/102; Turville-Petre, 60, ianua regni); Sthom. 80/16, Nhom. 59/15, cf. Nhom. 64/20 (cf. Ps. Aug. 136, PL 39, 2015B janua regni coelistis); Nhom. 66/4; dyrr hiarta várs, Sthom. 27/12; dyrr miskunnar sinnar/ miskunnar dyrr, Sthom. 70/32 (Missale Romanum [1872], Fer. VI. in Parasc., Oratio Solemnis 5, janua misericordiae); Sthom. 100/24, 28, Nhom. 97/ 3,7, Leifar 162/ 18, 23; dyrr millde siNar -- Sthom. 201/ 3 (Epistola Luciani, PL 41, 809B ostium clementiae suae); hliþ postolegra kenninga, Sthom. 17/15. Cf. Manz 419-420 ianua misericordiae/ pietatis/ veritatis/ vitae/ vitae caelestis; Gr. Dialogues, HMS I, 248/7 hliþ retlētis (Ps. 117: 19, de Vogüé, vol. 3, 118, IV.36.

2/15 portae iustitiae); Barl. 145/29 íðranar dyrr (Ps. Ioh. Dam. 96/5 ianua pœnitentiæ); Ibid. 146/6 hurð miskunnar (Ps. Ioh. Dam. ianua cœlestis 96/16); Jóns s. post. III, Post. 454/23 lífs dyrr; Jóns s. post. IV, Post. 500/23, miskunnarportið Maria drotning; Péturs s. post. I, Post. 78/19-21, "...lauk fyrstr upp í Roma himinríkis durum með lukli guðspialligrar predikanar".

53. E. Ó. S. notes that one finds isolated examples in religious prose texts of metaphorical circumlocutions which could fall into his "first category" of kennings (Ritunartími Íslendingasagna, 138; c.f. s.a., Íslenzkar Bókmenntir í Fornöld I [1962], 145, and "Dróttkvæða þáttur", Skírnir 121 [1947], 16, rpt. in s.a., Við Uppsprettarnar [1956], 46). From Níðrstignings saga, for instance, he cites several kenning-like terms for the devil: glats oddviti, dauða jöfurr, dauða skilfingr, jöfurr helvítis (Ritunartími..., 137-138), although he admits that the ornate style of this saga is not typical of that of other early OWN prose texts. These terms are not generically different, however, from conventional names for the devil and the powers of darkness found in the early homiletic works: e.g., hæfþingiar helvítis myrkrs (Sthom. 74/18), grimr myrkra hofþingi Leifar 75/1* = Gr. 39 in Ev., PL 76, 1299D, princeps hujus mundi. (On medieval depictions of the devil as princeps tartari, commander of an infernal army, see, e.g., Oswald A. Erich, Die Darstellung des Teufels in der christlichen Kunst [Berlin, 1931], II.5, "Der Höllenstaat - Beelzebub, Luzifer, Satanas - Rangordnung und Bewaffnung", 83ff.).

Wolfgang Lange, in his chapter on "Die christlichen Kenningar" (Studien zur christlichen Dichtung der Nordgermanen 1000-1200. Palaestra 222 [1958], 208ff.) observes that even when speaking of circumlocutions in Christian skaldic verse, which "in ihren Wort- und Bildschöpfungen ungleich freier -- weil nicht an zu übersetzende Vorlagen gebunden -- ist als die Prosa" (208-209), one can only

use the term kenning in a very restricted sense (208):

...Die Umschreibungen der christlichen Dichtung sind zumeist inhaltlich anderer Art als alles bishin von den Göttern Ausgesagte, aber formal bleiben sie in der Tradition und führen die schwere Würde und Bürde dieser eigentümlich nordgermanischen Dichtweise mit sich. Allerdings werden sie durchsichtiger, da sie sich nicht auf eine alte, figurenreiche Mythologie beziehen können, durchsichtiger bis zu bloßen Umschreibung, die man nicht mehr als Kenning bezeichnen kann, weil ihr der Rätsel- und Verweisungscharakter abgeht. Im ganzen aber ist es gerechtfertigt, in den Umschreibungen der christlichen Dichtung das Mittel zu sehen, durch welches die Nordleute das ihnen Wesentliche der neuen Religion dichterisch sagten.

Corporal metaphors

E.R. Curtius devotes a section of his chapter on "metaphorics" in European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages to a discussion of "corporal metaphors". He cites examples of this type of figure from both classical and medieval texts:

In a somewhat daring image, Plato says that the dialectical method raises "the eye of the soul, buried in barbaric mud" (Republic, 533d). Thenceforth the "eye of the soul" became a favourite metaphor, which we find both in pagan and Christian authors... Metaphors of this sort are frequent in late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Characteristic of Augustine are metaphors which violate visual perception: "the hand of my tongue" (Conf., V, 1), "the hand of the heart" (Ibid., X, 12), "the head of the soul" (Ibid., X, 7). The soul tosses to and fro, "on its back, on its sides, and on its belly" (Ibid., VI, 16, 26). Prudentius introduces "the belly of the heart"; Aldhelm the "vulva of regenerating grace", the "neck of the mind", the "groins of the bowels" ... Godfrey of Breteuil can say: "After it has drunk all this thoughtfully and sufficiently, the belly of my mind thirsts for more ... The field is immense and unexplored. An entire volume could be filled with examples from patristic literature alone."¹

Curtius observes that many metaphors of this type - the eyes, ears, palate of the mind, heart, etc. - also belong to a mystical tradition which derives (at least in part) from Origen's doctrine of the spiritual senses.²

Christian writers could also, however, find models for metaphors of the body in Scripture: "the hand of the tongue" (Prov. 18:21), "the foot of pride" (Ps. 35:12 [36:11]), "the eyes of the heart" (Eph. 1:18), "the bowels of mercy" (Lk. 1:78, Phil. 2:1, Col. 3:12, cf. Is. 63:15).³

Saint Peter speaks of "girding the loins of the mind" (succincti lumbos mentis vestrae I Pet. 1:13, cf. Eph. 6:14) and Paul recalls the Old Testament figure of the praeputium cordis (Deut. 10:16, cf. 30:6; Jer. 4:4)

in his discussion of the "circumcision of the heart" (Rom. 2:25-29).⁴

The author of a sermon for the Feast of the Circumcision found in both Sthom. and Nhom. draws on both the theme of "spiritual circumcision" and the doctrine of the spiritual senses, in his elaboration of the hidden significance of the circumcision rite, to produce an impressive catalogue of corporal metaphors:⁵

...En þat es vitaNða at vér megom varþvefta umb
scurþar skírn dróttins a ællom vitom ens ytra manz.
oc hins iþra⁶ ef vér lifom siþlega.

Sa skírer augo hugar síns oc lícams. es enga
licamlega fegrþ lætr téla hug siN...þuiat óskírþ ero þess
aúgo es oft siá þat es hug hans eþa lícam teýger til
freistne. Sva ero oc óskírþ hugscots augo þess er
uner við synþa lícneske þa es óhreiNANðe sýner hug-
scote hans.

Sa skírer eýro ens ytra manz oc ens iþra es eige
vill heýra ónýt orþ ne illgiarnleg... þuiat óskírþ
ero þess eýro es gaman heNðer at illom tíþendom eþa
saúryrþom. Oc ero allra hellst óskírþ hugscots eýro
þess er wersnar af aNaRa orþom.

Sa skírer muN siN scurþar skírn guþs es hann varasc
viþ ónýt orþ... Sa skírer muN hins iþra manz er eige
þolvar nónges sínom í hugscote...

...es...ilming ens iþra manz su es þarf umbscurþar.
s. crists. þat er at hann verþe eige samðaúne við
synþer náongs síns...⁷

Sa skírer heNðr sínar. s. s. es þeim helldr fra
stulþ oc ráne... EN es ænnor umb. s. s. ens iþra manz.
þat es at hann hallde hændom hugar síns fra agirne
þeíRa hluta allra es honom er eige lofat at hafa. þuiat
eige ero hugscots heNðr þess manz skírþar es hann girn-
esc aNars eigens í hiarta síno. þót hann take þat eige
meþ hæNðom.

Sa skírer feótr sína es georer þat es salomón málte.
Ef synþger meN teýgia þic meþ sér at vera saclaúsan...

baNa fótom þínom stíg þeiRa... Feótr ens íþra manz ero
 hugreningar þær es bera hug eN í ymsa staðe sem feótr
 bera licam. EN þessa fóta umb s. s. es at láta eige
 liótar hugreningar bera hugeN fra guðs gaoto.

The various manifestations of these metaphorical membra disiecta in the
 Homily Books and later OWN literature can conveniently be examined
 individually.

Eyes

Ocular metaphors are by far the most common of the corporal metaphors found in the Homily Books.⁸ The compound hugskotsauga occurs most often, and although this term would appear to be modelled on the phrase oculus mentis it is regularly used to translate various other Latin metaphors as well. Cf., e.g.:

Sthom. 87/19-20 ("In passione domini"):

...líf yþvart broþr leiþeþer
fyrer hugskoꝝ aũgo yþr...

Gr. 18 in Ev., PL 76, 1150C:

...Vitam ergo vestram, fratres
charissimi, ante mentis oculos
revocate...

Sthom. 91/7-9 (Leifar
63/27-30):

...Hveriom glíkiasc þesser
nema seraphim þat ero breNendr
oc logendr. þuiat loge lyser
oc breNer. sva lýsa keningar
þeira hugscots augo manna til
himnescra hluta...

Gr. 34 in Ev., PL 76, 1253C:

...Quid ergo istos nisi seraphim
dixerim, quorum cor in igne con-
versum lucet et urit, quia et
mentium oculos ad superna illuminant
...⁹

Sthom.60/3-4 ("Apparicio
domini"):

Setiom vér fyr hugskoꝝ augo
oss aNmaRka óra oc þar meþ
ógn dóma dags.

Gr. 10 in Ev., PL 76, 1113D-1114A:

... necesse est ... ut ... ponamus
ante oculos cordis hinc culpas
operis, illinc iudicium extremæ
distinctionis.

Sthom 83/24-26 ("PvRificatio
s. MaRie"; Nhom.68/17-19):

...Sia þrifseme segesc buen
fyrer auglite allra lyþa.
þuiat aller toco hiólp af
honom. þeir es hugskoꝝ
augom móttó sia hann oc elsca.

cf. Ambrosius Autpertus, PL 89,
1298B:

...Ante faciem ergo omnium populorum
hoc salutare tuum dicitur præparatum,
quia ex omnibus populis in eum
crediderunt, quia eum credentes
fidei oculis aspexerunt.¹⁰

Sthom. 151/3-5:

...Veckiomk vér nu af orðcpar
sue[m]ne. oc hefiom upp hugscots
æogo ór. at ver sém tálgrafar
þær er óvinreN grefr til þess at
véla oss í ...

Ps. Ambrose, Acta S. Sebastiani,

PL 17, 1122C:

...et quasi a gravi somno experge-
facti aperiamus oculos animorum,
ut videntes foveas quas in nostri
perniciem inimicus, nos quidem
auxiliante Deo evademus...¹¹

The "eyes of the heart" are mentioned in both Sthom. and Nhom.:

Sthom. 50/33-34 ("Alia
seRMonis"):

Sa lúke up augom hiarta
ypvars. er sér lét sóma at
berasc í dag fyr oss...

Ps. Aug. 117 § 3, PL 39, 1978/16-17:

Aperiat vobis ille oculos cordis,
qui hodie propter nos dignatus
est nasci...

Nhom. 91/26-29 ("In ascensione domini ... sermo valde necessaria")
...En droten vár te os til þes at vér megem sva dyrca þessa
hælga tíð hans. ok sva allar aðrar er yfir os ganga. <ok>
hiartans æugum til hans kaga ok stunda...¹²

Especially interesting is the use of the metaphor "the eyes of mercy"
in a rendering of Luke 1:58 in a sermon for the Nativity of John the
Baptist:

Sthom. 11/24-26:

...En er kom sú típ sem nú
hældom vér þa verþr elisabép
léttare. En er þat heyrþo
frændr hennar oc viner. at guþ
leit miscunar augom a hana. þa
fægnþo þeir...

cf. Luke 1:57-58:

Elisabeth autem impletum est tempus
pariendi et peperit filium et
audierunt vicini et cognati eius
quia magnificavit Dominus miseri-
cordiam suam cum illa et congratula-
bantur ei...

None of the other translations of this verse preserved in OWN texts make
use of this ocular metaphor (cf. Kirby, Biblical Quotation, I, 223-4:
Nhom. 106/19-20, "...er guð væitti henne miscun sina...", Jóns s.
baptista I, Post. 843/30-31, "...at guð micladi miskunn sina med
henne...", Jóns s. baptista II, Post. 862/4, "...er guð miklaði miskunn

sina með henni..."}, and it is possible that the Sthom. translator's introduction of the figure was prompted by a reminiscence of the second and fourth verses of the Magnificat (Luke 1:48,50): quia respexit humilitatem ancillae suae... et misericordia eius in progenies et progenies timentibus eum.¹³

Ernst Walter notes that the phrase at líta miskunnaraugum á e-u is found for miseriçorditer respicere in the translation of Gregory's thirty-sixth gospel homily found in AM 677 4to¹⁴:

Leifar 54/1-2:

...En Gvp litr opt miscuNar
avgom a slica ond oc setr
meinsemi á mótt girndom
heNar...

PL 76, 1271C:

...Sed plerumque omnipotens
Deus talem animam misericorditer
respicit, et ejus voluptatibus
amaritudines permiscet.

Walter observes that this metaphor is "sonst einige wenige Male belegt", but cites no further examples.¹⁵ In fact, the circumlocution, "to see with the eyes of mercy" is widely attested in both early and late OWN prose, and the figure is often found as an amplified rendering of the verb respicere. Cf.,

Matheus s. postola I, Post.

798/12-13 (AM 655, ix, 4to
[c.1200], ed. L. Larsson

[Lund, 1885], 108/28-109/1,

cf. Post. 807/25-26, 813/26-
28, 825/25-27, 834/33-35):

...Guð sa miskunnar augum

a borg vara ok sendi þik hingat

til var, at þu leystir oss af

höndum þessa .ii. fiólkunnígra

manna...

Mombritius II, 258/8-9:

...Quia respexit deus ciuitatem suam:

ut liberaret eam de manu duorum

magorum horum...

Thóm.I, Fyrsti hlutr, k.20,
69/25-70/1:

...Fell hinn sæle Petrus, sem
ver sögðum, þa er hann neitaðe
guðe, en várum drotne sínum
miskunnaraugum til hans litande,
reis hann með tárom oc trega
upp bæðe skiott oc skorulegha
epter fallet.¹⁶

Barl. 16/22-24:

Nu meðan er hann var i þessarre
ahyggiv. þa leit sa miskunnar
augum til hans. er ollum vil
hialppa...

Ibid., 26/10-11:

...Oc firir þui leit hann til
hans sínvm miskunnar augum oc
birtti honom skynsamlega
sialvan sik oc sina miskunn...

Ibid., 99/32-33:

...A þik kalla ec faður oc
hinn hælga eingetinn sun þinn
með hægum anda. lit
miskunnar augum til þessa
sauðs þins...

Ibid., 100/18-19:

...lit til min með þinum mis-
kunnar augum. þui at þu villt
at aller hiallpezt oc have
kenning til þins sannleiks...

Ibid., 112/35-113/5:

...En síðan er hann braut guðs
boðorð ... þa vennde eiðr guð
at helliðr sínum miskunnar augum

Quadrilogus, cit. Thóm.I, 70/26-28:

Cecidit siquidem Petrus, sed
respiciente in eum Domino, flens
amarissime fortior resurrexit.

Ps. Ioh. Dam. 13/3-5:

...Sic ergo habente se iuvene ...
uidit eum qui cuncta cernit oculis
nec despexit, qui uult omnes saluos
fieri...

cf. Ibid., 19/1-2:

...Suscipiens autem hunc gratianti
et recto iudicio deus, manifestauit
ei semetipsum...

Ibid., 70/26-27:

...Te ergo inuoco et unigenitum
filium tuum, et sanctissimum tuum
spiritum, respice super hanc
rationabilem ouem tuam...

Ibid., 70/40-71/1:

...Respice in me et miserere mei,
quia omnes uis saluos fieri et ad
agnitionem ueritatis uenire...

Ibid., 78/19-23:

...Pręuaricantem uero mandatum illius
... non deseruit, sed omnia patiando
ad antiquum honorem uolens eum

af honom nema helldr var hans
hinn mildi goðvili til hinnar
samu hialppar at leiða hann
aptr til hinnar fyrri soemdar
... er hann visaðe ser ifra af
sialfs sins vangiazzlo...

Ibid., 114/24-28:

...En þo það ec guð optsamlega
af allu hiartta ... at hann
liti miskunnar augum til þin.
þo at þu ser honom af þinom
misverkkom miok fiarre oc
gortt þik sialfkrava lygimann
oc laupingia...

Ibid., 155/24-27:

...Þv drottenn allzvalldannde
miskunnsamr miskunna mer... oc
lit þinv hinv miskunnsama auga
þinnar margfallegrar miskunnar
a mitt mal...

Ibid., 181/33-34:

Se a iðran hiartta hans með
augum miskunnar þinnar ...

reducere, totius factor creaturæ,
et nostri generis autor homo factus
est...

cf. Ibid., 79/17-19:

...Deum uero incessanter exorabam,
ut traheret te ad se, et de longinquo
reuocaret exilio, cuius tu autor
tibimetipsi...fugitiuus pietatis
factus, et malitiæ minister totius
impietatis.

Ibid., 101/13-15:

...Domine deus omnipotens misericors
et miserator ... propitio me oculo
respice ...

Ibid., 116/29-30:

Vide contritionem cordis mei
propicio et misericordi oculo ...

Ólafs s. Tryggvasonar en Mesta, II, 149/12-15 (Flat. I, 420/39 -
421/4):

...Nu boðaði þessi atburðr fyrir sem Þorhallr sagði. ok margir
lutir þvilikir. þann fagnadar tíma sem eptir kom. at allzvalldandi
guð virðiz at líta miskunnar augum aa þann lyð er Island byggði.
ok leysa þat folk fyrir sína erendreka af laungum fiandans þræl
domi ...

Stjórn 225/9-10:

...Liti guð ok þi miskunnar-
augum til uár. þa munum uer
glaðliga konunginum þiona.

Gen. 47:25:

...respiciat nos tantum dominus
noster et laeti serviemus regi.

Ibid., 251/31-33:

...sa þar i eitt ugent grátanda
sueinbarn. til huers er hon
leit miskunnar augum...

Ex. 2:6:

...cernensque in ea parvulum
vagientem miserta eius...

Ibid., 258/18-19:

...leit Jsraels lyð sinum
milldum miskunnsemmdar augum
ok hann kendi þa.

Ex. 2:25:

respexit filios Israhel et cognovit
eos

Ibid., 420/18-21:

...fystiz hon nv at fara aftr
i ríki Jvða til frenda sinna
...þíat hon hayrói sagt at
gvð drottinn hefði litið
miskvnnar avgvm a lyð sinn
oc batnað arferð a Gyðinga
landi.

Ruth 1:6:

Et surrexit ut in patriam pergeret
...audierat enim quod respexisset
Dominus populum suum, et dedisset
eis escas.

Ibid., 442/35:

...þvi at ek læit miskvnnar
avgvm a lyðinn.

I Sam. 9:16:

...quia respexi populum meum...

Ibid., 651/15-18:

...bendi hann til meðr berum
ordum fyrir munn sinna
spamanna. at hann mundi sua
brottu kasta fra sinni aasyn
Judvm sem adr Jsraels lyd.
oc fra snua sin miskunnar-
augu þessi borg Jherusalem
...

cf. 2 Kings 23:27:

Dixit itaque Dominus: Etiam Iudam
auferam a facie mea, sicut
abstuli Israel: et proiciam
civitatem hanc, quam elegi
Ierusalem, et domum, de qua dixi:
Erit nomen meum ibi.

DN IX, 125/6-8 (p.139), (13 July 1340). Bishop Hákon of Bergen
requests that Bishop Eiríkr of Stávanger release a cleric, one
of his own kinsmen, from a ban.)

...er þat boenastader vaar. at þer lijtir miskunnar aughum a
han frialsande han af sinum vaanda. þo at han hafwe brœysker
vordet. ok saker vaar...¹⁷

Marfu s., 794/28-30:¹⁸

...Heyr, hin helgazta drottning, einkanlig huggan
allra þeira sem hialplausir ero, se með æliti
þinnar myskunnar til mín, er nu hefir enga adra won
til hialpar...

Ibid., 795/4-5:

...heyr, hin milldazti lungfru, hneig augu þinnar
myskunnar til min...

Ibid., 795/15:

...Hann byrgir augu sinnar millði, at hann siai eigi .
min tar...¹⁹

Isl. Ev. XLIV, "Af tveim munkum", 9-12:

...Broðir, segir hann, þat legg ek til, at vit
treystum á hina helguztu guðs móður til hjálpar ok
syngium henni til lofs standandi antiphonam Salve
regina, at hon líti til okkar sínum miskunnaraugum.²⁰

Ibid., XLVIII, "Af sýslumanni ok fjánda", 39-41:

...Engi leit hann nú miskunnaraugum hvar hann sat með
lutu höfði, fullr af sorg ok sú...²¹

It is remarkable that pleonastic references to the eye of the subject are found in the parallel Latin texts of only three of the examples cited, all from Barlaams ok Josaphats saga (16/22-24, cf. Ps. Ioh. Dam. 13/3-5; 155/24-27, cf. Ps. Ioh. Dam. 101/13-15; 181/33-34, cf. Ps. Ioh. Dam. 116/29-30). Whatever the ultimate origin of the metaphor,²² it is clear from the examples from Sthom., AM 677 4to, and AM 655 IX 4to that the OWN phrase at líta miskunnaraugum was already a stock formula by the twelfth century.²³

Ears

With the hugscots eýro of the Feast of Circumcision homily (Sthom. 185/15; Nhom. 55/26) one can compare a reference to the "hearing of the heart" in the messuskýring at Sthom. 123/34-36 (cf. AM 625 4to, Mess. 47/5-9):

Þui tþkom ver hætto af hæfþe oss. at etke se þess er
byrge hlust vára. oc allra hellzt hugscotz várs hlust
fra orþe dróttens...²⁴

The Doomsday sermon preserved on the interpolated leaves in Nhom.²⁵
introduces the "ears of humility" and "of rejoicing":

Nhom. 168/17-21:

Nu stuði guð læmstr mal-hellti minnar. ok gefe
u-froðre tungu horskleg orð at mæla. þau er minum
drotne snuisk til lofs ok dýrðar. ok ollum þeim
til himnescra hæil-ræða er á lyða með litil-lates
þýrum.

Nhom. 168/32-169/1:

...þvi at þa standa allir retvisir menn sva liosir
sem sol á høggra veg varom drotne ok hæyra friðleg
heim-boð með fagnaðar þýrum þa er hin milldaste
konungr mælir sva...

An equally interesting "auricular" metaphor is found in another of
the sermones ad pópulum in Nhom., in an admonition against unseemly
conduct in church:

Nhom. 36/18-21:

En sumir menn gera með ollu rangt í guðs husi.
fara með glam ok uspeki. ok með mælgí ok ulyóni
ok hværn ó-sið er mykil er. ok fórra ó-líoðans
æyru við guðs æmbæte ok halæitri þionaðsto.

Joan Turville-Petre has pointed out that this section of the Old
Norwegian sermon draws on the same source-material as a passage in
Elfric's homily on the "Prayer of Moses",²⁶ but neither Elfric's sermon
nor any of the analogous Latin texts on misbehaviour in church referred

to by her contain anything like the ear-metaphor employed by the Norwegian homilist.²⁷ In fact, both Fritzner and the files of the Arnamagnæan Dictionary list only one other example of this metaphorical compound, from an official letter of Bishop Hákon Erlingsson of Bergen, in which he complains of the drunkenness and violence of his parishioners and pronounces a ban upon those responsible for an assault upon a local cleric (DN IX, 117/25-30, 7 August, 1339):

...Nu af þui, at ver meghom með engho mote,
vttan vaarrar ofmykillar abyrgðar þuilíka vlydni
með ifirdylmande aughum, eór vliodans oeyrum
þeghiande vmlíjða, þa gerom ver allum goðom monnum
kunníght, at þeir oc hwær þeirra er j þesso
vóaða værki vaaro stadór kunnir eór sanner falla oc
fallet hafwa, j bann af siaulfw verkinu...

On its own, the rather rare word óhljóðan is regularly used to refer to loud and disorderly behaviour (especially in church or other places of public assembly). Mattias Tveitane has drawn attention to ^{examples of} this use of the word in the OI version of the Visio Pauli and in a Norwegian statute of the fourteenth century:

AM 624 4to, 293, ed. Tveitane,

En Norrøn Versjon av Visio

Pauli, 8/9-11:

...þeir menn sem standa til
kní[a] ero þeir sem...

[o]hlíodon giordo j kirkiu

þa er enn helga messa var
sungin...

cf. Visio S. Pauli, cit.

Ibid., 8/36:

...Hi sunt, qui lites faciunt
inter se in ecclesia non audi-
entes verbum dei.

"Om Prestestevne," NGL III, 308/23-24:

...Enn ef hann byriar edr ulíodar [var. ohlíodan gerir]²⁸
gialldi eyrir.

The word is used in the same way in a "guild law" from Nidaros preserved in a thirteenth-century ms. (NRA 50 C):

...En aller menn skulu jnni vera er firir er mælt Mariu minni ok at Petrs minni ok at allra hæillaghra minni ok at Olafs minni ok upp standa ok ækki mæla nema biðiz firir ok...giællde penning...ef olíodan ger[er].²⁹

It is worth noting, however, that, in the example from the translation of Visio Pauli at least, the meaning of the word ohlíodon is by no means unambiguous. For while the phrase þeir sem ohlíodon giordo appears at first glance to be a simple calk of qui lites faciunt, in the context ohlíodon may also carry something of the meaning, "inattentiveness, unheedfulness", in so far as it refers as well to the words non audientes verbum dei. At any rate, as Tveitane observes, it is unlikely that the word can mean "noise" or "uproar" when used as part of the compound óhljóðanseyra:

I sammensetningen olíodansæyra i Hom. er denne spesielle betydningen noe modifisert: "Øre paa hvilket man ikke hører" (Fritzner). Og når ordet brukes av biskop Håkon ... er sammenhengen med "bråk i kirka" brutt: "ver meghom med engho mote ... þuillika vlydni med ... vliodans óyrum þeghiannde vmlijda" (vi kan ikke vende det dólve óre til slik ulydighet).³⁰

The infrequent occurrence of the term óhljóðanseyra in OWN and the very general similarity of the contexts in which the compound is used by the Norwegian homilist and Bishop Håkon encourage Tveitane to ask, "Kan det være fra juleprekenen i Hom Håkon har tatt uttrycket?"³¹ Even if this rhetorical question could be answered, one would still be justified in asking from what source (oral or written) the author of the Old Norwegian sermon was familiar with the expression in the first place. Certainly it seems more reasonable to imagine that both the homilist and Bishop Håkon make use of the phrase as a commonplace than to assume that the only two examples of the word óhljóðanseyra known to modern lexicographers must somehow be directly related.

Like Tveitane, Fritzner, Cleasby-Vigfusson, and Heggstad all compare the phrase at fœra óhljóðanseyra við e-n with the proverbial expression, "to turn a deaf ear to s.t.".³² As Tveitane observes, the phrase at ljá óhljóðseyru is still used in this way in Modern Icelandic³³; and in OWN the verb daufheyrast was used to express more or less the same idea.³⁴ In fact, in another of his letters, Bishop Hákon employs this verb in much the same way he uses the metaphor óhljóðanseyra. In this letter (dated 4 April, 1342), he writes to the clerics of Fyrdafylki requesting that they prepare to receive the archbishop of Nidaros and his retinue, and warns of the dire consequences which will attend any dereliction of hospitality (DN VIII., 150/13-16):

... nu ef nokor
er sa. sām ver æi truum er daufhœyrizst mote þessare
skylou ok varo boðe. æða þriotzsko æðer vlydni viðber.
þa skulum ver so æftir sia við hann. at hans gærð
skal odrum til fulkomins otta ok varnadar verða.

In this text, as in Hákon's earlier letter and in the Nhom. passage on misbehaviour in church, the metaphor of "deafness" is associated with a cognate of óhljóðanseyra - the word vlydni. Ernst Walter points out that while this derivative of hlýða ("to listen closely, obey") regularly has the meaning "disobedience", its significance would appear to be slightly different in the passage from Nhom.:

Hlýðni ist stets "Gehorsam", óhlýðni stets
"Unghehorsam" - mit einer Ausnahme, wo in Hom óhlýðni
mit mælgí zusammengestellt ist und wohl "Unaufmerksam-
keit (im Gottesdienst)" bedeutet...³⁵

In this passage then, the meaning of óhljóðanseyra would appear at least to touch the semantic edge of óhlýðni. In fact, it is difficult to believe that there is not deliberate word-play in the association of these cognates in both the ON sermon and Hákon's letter on the troubles in Bergen

("fara með ... mælgí ok ulydni ... ok fóra ó-liodans æyru við guðs æmbæte ..."; "ver meghom með engho mote ... þuillika vlydni með vliodans æyrum vmlíjda"). Even in Hákon's letter, where vlydni is clearly used in its normal sense of "disobedience", the word may still be linked with the ear-metaphor by sense as well as sound, for the ears are often associated with the virtue of obedience by Christian scholars of the Middle Ages. One can compare, for instance, the entries for auris in the "spiritual dictionaries" of Eucherius of Lyons and Alan of Lille, and in the Distinctiones Monasticae:

Formulae Spiritalis Intelligentiae, "VI. De Interiore Homine", CSEL 31, 35/17-18:

Aures obaudientia fidelis; in euangelio: et aures uestrae quia audiunt [Matt. 13:16].

Distinctiones Dictionum..., PL 210, 714B:

Auris ... Dicitur obedientia, unde Psalmista:
Populus quem non cognovi, in auditu auris
obedivit mihi [Ps. 17:45].

Distinctiones Monasticae, Spic. Sol. II, 225:

...Est auris intelligentiæ; unde Isaias: "Dominus Deus aperuit mihi aurem, ego autem non contradico, retrorsum non abii." [Is. 4:5] Felix qui hoc veraciter dicere potest, cui Deus dedit intelligentiam, et ipse paratus est ad obedientiam...
Est auris obedientiæ; unde: "In auditu auris obedivit mihi."³⁶

In his use of the term vliodans æyru Bishop Hákon perhaps suggests that "to pass by in silence the disobedience" of the iniquitous citizens of Bergen (þuillika vlydni ... vmlíjda) would be to ignore his episcopal duties and to turn to the problem not only "deaf ears" but "ears of disobedience" as well.³⁷

The figurative ears of the Homily Books are again part of a long and respectable Latin tradition. The figure of the "ear of the heart" is found in Augustine's Confessions (I, 5; IV, 5) and in the first line of the Benedictine Rule (...inclina aurem cordis tui, CSEL 75, 1/1); and Curtius notes that the metaphor aures mentis is used by Paulinus of Nola, Juvencus, Jerome and Gregory the Great.³⁸ For liturgical examples see Manz 84 auditus pietatis, 91 aures clementiae, 92 - misericordiae, 93 - pietatis; Pflieger (p.45), Auris(-pietatis, misericordiae, praecordiorum).³⁹

Hands

With the hugscotz hændr of the Nhom. Circumcision homily one can compare two other sets of "spiritual hands" mentioned in the Homily Books. The sermon for the Feast of the Purification of Mary preserved in both Nhom and Sthom. concludes with an exhortation to "receive Christ with the hands of faith" (Nhom. 69/16-19; Sthom. 86/4-6):

Rennum ver ámot Cristí með æst ok goðum síðum
... ok takum við haonum með haondum retrar trv...⁴⁰

And the peroration of the version of Gregory's thirty-fourth gospel homily found in Sthom. and AM 677 4to contains the figure of the "hand of penitence":

Sthom. 92/28-32 (Leifar 65/22-26): Gr. 34 in Ev., PL 76, 1255D-1256A:

En vér góper breðpr scolom	Suspiremus ergo ad eos de quibus
ofvalt fýsasc til dýrpar þeira	loquimur, sed redeamus ad nos.
es nu segiom vér frá. oc	Meminisse etenim debemus quia
miNasc þo at vér erom iarpleger.	caro sumus. Taceamus interim de
<u>oc þerra af oss synþa dust meþ</u>	secretis coeli, sed ante
<u>íþranar heNde</u> fyr aúgo scapera	conditoris oculos <u>manu pœnitentiæ</u>
várs. at vér megem hreiner	<u>tergamus maculas pulveris nostri.</u> ⁴¹
verþa oc komasc til himnescrar	
borgar.	

Numerous examples of similar compounds can be found in later OWN texts.⁴²

Cf. Manz 584 manus misericordiae, 585 -pietatis; Pitra, Spicilegium Solesmense II, 232, manus potentiae, gratiae, protectionis, humanitatis, benignitatis, fidei, devotionis, curationis, laudationis, pigritiae, elationis, duplicitatis, etc.⁴³

Feet

With the fætr ens iðra manz of the Circumcision homily one can compare Nhom. 8/8-9 (Alc. VV, X, "De humilitate," PL 101, 619D):

<u>Litil-látes fótum</u> scal upp	<u>Humilitatis passibus</u> ad celi
stiga til himins hæðar.	culmina conscenditur; quia Deus
því at hár guð kánnisc	excelsus non superbia, sed
æigi í ofmetnaðe. hælðr	humilitate attingitur. ⁴⁴
í litil-láte.	

A similar metaphorical compound, "the feet of virtues", is found in another early translation, the OWN version of the Epigrams of Prosper of Aquitaine in AM 677 4to:

<u>Leifar</u> 16/1-3:	<u>Epigrammata</u> , LXIX, <u>PL</u> 51, 519B:
Er er upp eroð callaðer yr	Ad patriam vitæ noctis de valle
myrcom dal til ens liosa	vocati, <u>Virtutum gradibus</u> scandite
lifs þa clifið er þangat	lucis iter.
<u>costa fotom</u> epter eNe	
biorto monvits goto. ⁴⁵	

The figure, "the foot of pride", appears in both of the complete versions of Thómas saga erkibyskups as part of a free rendering of John 13:18:

<u>Thóm. I</u> , 235/20-21:	<u>Quadrilogus</u> , cit. <u>Thóm. I</u> , 235/35-36:
Einn maðr, sa ær mitt brauð	...Unus homo, qui manducavit panem
át, hóf sinn <u>ðrambuisissfót</u>	meum, levavit contra me <u>calcaneum</u>
mér a mot.	sum.

<u>Thóm. II</u> , I, 513/28-29:
Einn sá maðr, er þá mitt borð ok át mitt brauð, hóf sinn
<u>ðrambsemisfót</u> mer í mót. ⁴⁶

Variants of the same metaphor are found in Jóns saga postola I and IV and in Tveggja postola saga Jóns ok Jacobs:

<u>Jóns s.p. I</u> , <u>Post.</u> 434/31-34:	<u>Pseudo-Mellitus</u> , <u>Passio Sancti</u>
	<u>Iohannis</u> , ed. Fabricius, III, 622/28-31:
Luk þu upp fyrir mer, drottinn, þvíat ek tek nu at	Aperi mihi pulsanti januam vitæ,
knyia a dyr eilífs lífs, sva	principes tenebrarum non occurrant
	mihi, et <u>pes superbiæ</u> , et manus

at myrkra hofðingiar komi extranea a te non tangat me.
 ekki mer i mot, ok ofmetnaðar [cf. Ps. 35:12]
fotr komi ekki mer i nand, ok
 engi hond komi su við mik, er
 þer er fiarlæg...⁴⁷

Jóns s.p. IV, Post. 494/13-16:
 Luk upp þu, drottinn min. lifs
 port fyrir mer, þviat nu knýrr
 ek. Gæt min, sæti herra minn,
 at myrkra grimd renni eigi mer
 i mót með sinn drambsemisfótr...

Tvegg. p.s. JJ, Post. 663/13-17:
 Luk upp þu, drottinn, lifs hurð fyrir mer, þviat nu knýr
 ek. Gæt min, drottinn minn, at ófundar hófðingi renni eigi
 i moti mer, ok eigi flyckiz drambsemisfótr mer i mot, ok eigi
 snerti mik nokkur su hönd, sem i utlegð er rekin fra þer ...

Jóns s. p.IV, Post. 502/24-30:
 ...Annarr þeira biarra riddara talar tiginni rodd til
 keisarans a þenna skilning: "Heyr Theodósi, vik langt i fiarlægð
 allan ótta brott fra þínu hiarta ... lát svelginn dauðans
 gleypa þa eggbitna, er i agirndarelldi hofu sinn dramletisfót
 upp i mót herra sinum...⁴⁸

Peter Hallberg has pointed out that the only examples of the words dramb-
semisfótr and dramblætisfótr recorded by Fritzner are those cited above
 - all from works which he has attempted to prove (from statistical studies
 of vocabulary and stylistic features) were written by Bergr Sökkason,
 monk of Þingeyrar, later Abbot of Þverá († some time after 1345).⁴⁹ The
 suggestion that these metaphorical phrases reflect the style and
 imagination of a particular individual is, in many ways, attractive, but
 one wonders whether the texts cited need support such a hypothesis. In
 the example from Thóm.II, the compound drambsemisfótr is clearly
 modelled on the word drambuisissfótr in Thóm.I, a work which Hallberg

admits "är visserligen ej av Bergr Sokkason".⁵⁰ And to take drambsemis-fótr as a touchstone of the style of the author(s) of Jóns s. p. IV and Tvegg. p.s. JJ seems equally dubious, for although these two texts agree in using this term to translate Pseudo-Mellitus' pes superbiae, they differ markedly in their renderings of the other two metaphorical compounds found in the Latin passage:

janua vitæ - Jóns s.p. IV, lifs port; Tvegg. p.s. JJ,
lifs hurð (cf. Jóns s.p. I, dyrr eilífs
lifs; Jóns s.p. II, 454/23, Jóns s.p. III,
 465/21, lifs dyrr)

principes tenebrarum - Jóns s.p. IV, myrkra grimd;
Tvegg. p.s. JJ, ðfundar höfðingi [var.
myrkra hofðingiar] (cf. Jóns s.p. I,
Jóns s.p. II, 454/23, Jóns s.p. III,
 465/21, myrkra hofðingiar)⁵¹

It is also disturbing that none of the foot-metaphors cited by Hallberg occur in either of the works expressly attributed to Bergr in medieval sources - Michaels saga and Nikolaus saga erkibyskups II⁵²; and even Hallberg's observation that of the two remaining drambsemis- compounds recorded by Fritzner one (drambsemisandi) is from Nik. II (HMS II, 82/38) and the other (drambsemisháls) from a section of Maríu saga (530/7) "med mycket stark prägel av Bergr Sokkasons ordval"⁵³ does little to bolster one's confidence in the value of these terms as examples of diction peculiar to a particular author.⁵⁴ It seems more likely that the concentration of such figurative compounds in fourteenth-century texts reflects the general popularity of the "learned" and "florid" styles during that period.⁵⁵ Nor is it unreasonable to assume that a metaphor like "the foot of pride" could have been used, like the compound litillættes fótr in Nhom. (and, indeed, like almost all of the corporal metaphors examined in this chapter), by any Icelandic or Norwegian writer with a taste for such figures - in this case, by anyone familiar with the words of the Psalmist, "Let not the foot of pride come against me."

Bosom of Mercy

Also worth mentioning in connection with the corporal metaphors is a reference to Christ's "bosom of mercy" in a sermon on the Holy Cross found in both Sthom. and Nhom. (Sthom. 37/4 - 39/18, "De sancta cruce"; Nhom. 103/11 - 105/20, "In inuentione sancte crucis sermo"). The nailing of Christ's hands to the cross is interpreted in bonam partem (Sthom. 37/33 - 38/1; Nhom. 104/6 - 8):

...Réttu hann fra sér bápar hendr a crossenom.
 þuiat hann býðr faðm miscvNar siNar. æll[om] þeim
 er hann elsca...

None of the Latin sources suggested by Gunnes for this section of the sermon offer a close parallel to this statement⁵⁶, but the idea that the outstretched arms of Christ on the Cross represent his drawing of mankind into his merciful embrace is a commonplace found, for instance, in commentaries on Isaiah's prophecy of the crucifixion (Is. 65:2, cf. Romans 10:21), "Expandi manus meas tota die ad populum incredulum".⁵⁷

The phrase faðmr miskunnar itself is probably modelled on a Latin metaphor like sinus misericordiae.⁵⁸ One can compare the use of the figurative phrase faðmr mildi in the translation of Gregory's gospel homilies in AM 677 4to:⁵⁹

Leifar 66/8-9:

...ver erom fálnir oc liGiom
 i svnpom. en drottiN lvcr up
faðm mildi siNar oc eGiar oss
 up at risa oc vill taca við
 iþron vaRi...

Gr. 34 in Ev., PL 76, 1256A-B:

...Ecce autem jam lapsi sumus, ...
 in pravis nostris desideriis
 jacemus. Sed qui nos concidit
 rectos, adhuc exspectat, et
 provocat ut surgamus. Sinum
sua pietatis aperit, nosque ad
 se recipere per poenitentiam
 querit ...

Leifar 84/25:

Gvp bvðr faðm mildi siNar
 iþrondom...

Gr.33, PL 76, 1245B:

Ecce superna benignitas ... nobis
 revertentibus sua clementia sinus
parat.

Leifar 84/32-33:

...lvcr hann up faðm
mildi siNar þeim er aptr
 hverfa til ens saNa.

Gr.33, PL 76, 1245C:

...Videte tantæ pietatis sinum,
 considerate apertum vobis
misericiordiæ gremium ... Ecce,
 ut diximus, ad recipiendos nos
supernæ pietatis sinus aperitur...

Again, the early translators bequeathed this metaphor to later Icelandic authors. The figure of the bosom of mercy is found in Líknarbraut in an excursus on the crucifix which is reminiscent, in much of its phrasing, of the OWN sermon on the Cross (st. 42-45, Skjð B II, 171-172):

...
 sjá má hverr í heimi
 hnossa brjótr, á krossi
dyggir hvé sinn faðm seggjum
sólstéttar gramr réttir.

Þá er sem þengill skýja
 þreksnjallr kveði alla
 oss með orðum þessum,
 ágætr fyr meinlæti:

...
 Mín snúsk þjóð ok þjóna
 (þat 's rǫðuligt) dǫðum
 glæpum vǫn frá greypu
 grandí mér til handa;
því býðk faðm, at feðmik
 fúss ok glaðr með saðri
ǫst, hvern er iðrask lasta
unninna, miskunnar.⁶⁰

The phrase faðmr sinnar mildi ok miskunnar occurs in Magnúss saga lengri (ÍF 34, 345/16-19):

...ok hann við tekr synduga menn í inn víðasta faðm
sinnar mildi ok miskunnar, alla þá er af láta sinni
 óvizku ok til hans snúast af öllu hjarta...

The metaphor is applied to Saint Óláfr Haraldsson in Jóns s. helga B
(Bisk. I, 218/9-12),

... Egill fór til hirðar hins heilaga Óláfs konungs,
ok var þar val höndlaðr ok sániliga, sem aðrir
íslenzkir menn, þeir sem kómu undir miskunnarfaðm
þessa hins hins völduga höfðingja.⁶¹

and to the Virgin Mary in a version of the Theophilus legend in Marfu saga
(418/27-30):

...þytr upp mikit kall allz lyðs, lofanda lifanda
guð ok hans signuðu modur, er íafnan virdiz sinn
miskunnarfadm moti þeim at breida, er fra honum
snunir uilia til hans aptr huerfa.⁶²

In Thóm. II the phrase is used of the bosom of the Church (I, 182/23 -
184/1):

..."Því er ljóst vorðit af kirkjunar lögum," sagði
erkibyskup, "at veraldligt vald stendr mjök fjarri
at leggja dóm yfir klerka mál, fyrr enn kirkjan
hefir þeim fyrir sitt ofbeldi ok úaflátliga ílsku
af sínum miskunnarfaðmi með öllu brott kastat."⁶³

1. European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, pp.136-137.
2. See Ibid., 136, n.16; Kurt Rahner, "Le début d'une doctrine des cinq sens spirituels chez Origène", Revue d'ascétique et de mystique 13 (1932), 113-145; Rahner, "La doctrine des sens spirituels au moyen âge, en particulier chez saint Bonaventure," Ibid., 14 (1933), 263-299; Pierre Adnès, "Goût Spirituel", Dict. Sp., VI, 626-644, and bibliography. On Gregory the Great's use of imagery of the "spiritual senses" see H. Leclercq, The Love of Learning and the Desire for God, 38-39; Leclercq and J.P. Bonnes, Un maître de la vie spirituelle au XIe siècle, Jean de Fécamp (Paris, 1946), 99; Robert Gillet, "Saint Grégoire le Grand - B. La Mystique Grégorienne ... Sens Spirituels," Dict. Sp., VI, 900. Wolfgang Riehle describes the influence of the notion of the five senses of the spirit on mystical writers of the later Middle Ages in The Middle English Mystics (London/Boston/Henley, 1981), ch. 8, "The experience of God as a spiritual sense perception". He notes that in mystical writings, the use of the language of earthly perception can transcend metaphor in the normal sense of the term (p.109):

...In theological terms the "spiritual senses" are not just five powers permanently residing in the soul - by analogy with the physical senses - but are temporary spiritual acts, ultimately effected by divine grace. In these acts it seems to the soul that it is experiencing a supernatural object which reveals itself as if it were present in some concrete manner ... therefore the language which expresses such experiences is something rather different than mere metaphor.
3. On the place of "corporal metaphors" in Hebrew thought see generally Édouard Paul Dhorme, L'emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps en hébreu et en akkadien (Paris, 1923; rpt. 1963); G.D. Driver, "The

Modern Study of the Hebrew Language", in A.S. Peake, ed., The People and the Book (Oxford, 1925), 117f.; Thorleif Boman, Hebrew Thought Compared with Greek (London, 1960), 103ff.; Aubrey Johnson, The Vitality of the Individual in the Thought of Ancient Israel (2nd ed., Cardiff, 1964). Johnson observes (p. 87):

In Israelite thought man is conceived, not so much in dual fashion as "body" and "soul", but synthetically as a unit of vital power ... That is to say, the various members and secretions of the body, such as the bones, the heart, the bowels, and the kidneys, as well as the flesh and the blood, can all be thought of as revealing psychical properties.

Thus, e.g., the Hebrew word נָחַשׁ ('aph), "nostril", also means "wrath" (see F. Brown, A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament [Oxford, 1906], p.60, s.v., 3: Gen. 27:45, 49:6-7, Ex. 4:14, 22:23, 32:12, Dt. 9:19, 2 Kings 24:20; cf. Johnson, 7, 28, 49f., Dhorme, 80ff.), and מַעְיִימ (me'ayim), "the intestines, the bowels", can also refer to the emotions of pity, compassion, distress, and love (see Brown, p.589, s.v., 5: Is. 16:11, 63:15, Jer. 4:19, 31:20, Lam. 1:20, 2:11, Song of Sol. 5:4; cf. Johnson, 74, Dhorme, 134ff.).

Two OI renderings of the phrase viscera misericordiae are found in Jóns saga baptista II, written by the priest Grímr Hólmsteinsson between the years 1264 and 1298 (see Lilli Gjerløw, "Johannes Baptista", KLNM VII, 593-4). The first of these occurs in a commentary on the eleventh verse of the Benedictus canticle of Zacharias (Luke 1:78, Post. 865/32-36; see Kirby, Biblical Quotation I. 226):

...því let hann fylgia at þessi heilsa mundi þeim
veita aflausn eiginligra synða ... eptir því sem hit
ellipta vers vattar um miskunnar iðr guðs vars.
Miskunnar iðr guðs eru astsemdir hans, þær er hann
veitir oss fyrirgefning synða.

In another passage (Post. 872/32-33), Grímr speaks of John's leading

those converted by his preaching "...i kvið cristninnar oc til miskunnar iðra almattigs guðs".

Interestingly, Oddur Gottskálksson (Hið Nya Testament, 1540) also uses the phrase miskunnar iðr in his translation of Luke 1:78 (Jón Helgason suggests, Málið á Nýja Testamenti Odds Gottskálkssonar [1929], 194, in reminiscence of Jóns s. bapt. II) The metaphor seems, however, to have been avoided by earlier OWN prose writers, perhaps to avoid confusion with iðran, "repentance, remorse, contrition". (On the difficulties associated with the etymology of this word see Walter, Lex.Lehn., 109ff.; Thors, 210; De Vries, A.e.W., s.v. iðra.) Cf., e.g.,

Gr. Dialogues, HMS I, 228/20-21: III.17, PL 77, 265B:

...þvi at hann snere i kenningom ...quod illius prædicatione
sinom grimmon hugscotom til milde crudelissimæ cogitationes ad
... pietatis mollia conversæ sunt
viscera ...

(Ernst Walter, Lex.Lehn., 115, notes that the PL reading is closer to the translator's exemplar here than is Umberto Moricca's text [Gregorii Magni Dialogi. Fonti per la storia d'Italia 57 (Roma, 1924), 183/2]: ...quod illae illius crudelissimæ cogitationis ad pietatis mollitiam conversæ sunt viscera. Cf. de Vogüé, vol.2, 342/70-71: ... quod illae eius crudelissimæ cogitationes ad pietatis mollia conuersæ sunt uiscera.)

Leifar 40/30-32:

...fvr þat at hann var
galavss i avþøfom sinom.
oc vilþi eigi cæpa ser
svnþalavsn þar er hann atti
gnogt til at gefa.

Gr.40 in Ev., PL 76, 1305A:

...quia viscera pietatis ignoravit,
quia peccata sua redimere etiam cum
sibi abundaret pretium noluit.

Leifar 76/7-8:

...I þessom hlut er merc-
ianda hverso miskunnar verc
samtengia oss Gvþi.

Gr. 39 in Ev., PL 76, 1300D-1301A:

...Qua in re pensandum est nobis
quantum fraterna compassio valeat,
quantum nos omnipotenti Deo
misericiordiæ viscera conjugant.

Barl. k. 86, 84/28-31:

En þat er vmattolegt at spyria
eða segja með huerium hette
guðs sunr lagðe sinn guððom oc
tok a sik firir varar saker
dauðlegan manndom. Hatt
þessarrar miskunnargiæver vitum
ver eigi. oc eigi hoever oss
vm at rœða.

Ps. Joh. Dam. 61/30-32:

Modum uero ignoramus, nec dicere
valemus. Crede filium dei per
uiscera suæ misericordiæ factum
hominem, onus suscepisse quæ sunt
humanitatis naturales et
ineuitabiles passionēs.

Barl. k. 88, 86/35-36:

Nu ert þu með guðs miskunn
val fra villu frælstr...

Ps. Ioh. Dam., 65/13-14:

Tu autem de cætero liberatus ab
ea per uiscera misericordiæ dei
nostrī...

The word iðrar, f. pl., used like iðr, n. pl., "entrails", in
Guðrúnarkviða II, st. 23, has the meaning "remorse, regret" in Atlamál
in groenlenzco, st. 69:

Feginn ertu, Atli, ferr þú víg lýsa,
á muno þér iðrar, ef þú alt reynir

Ursula Dronke notes (The Poetic Edda, I. Heroic Poems [Oxford, 1969],
132 ad loc.),

...The notion that deep feeling has its seat in the
entrails ... may well be ancient and pre-Christian in
Norse ... but it would be unwise to assume, on the sole
evidence of Am, that the word "entrails" would be used
without qualification to signify "remorse". If iðrar
was a rare variant form of iðr, the poet of Am may well
have confused the words iðran and iðrar in his own
mind, attributing to both the sense "remorse".

4. For further Old Testament examples of the circumcision-metaphor see L.V.
Snowman, "Circumcision," Encyclopædia Judaica 5, 568:

...In the time of the Prophets, the term "uncircumcised" was applied allegorically to the rebellious heart or to the obdurate ear (Ezek. 44:1, 9; Jer. 6:10). Jeremiah declared that all the nations were uncircumcised in the flesh, but the whole house of Israel were of uncircumcised heart (Jer. 9:25) ... The word describes the lips of a person whose speech is not fluent (Ex. 6:12, 30) or the heart and ear of a person who will not listen to reason (Jer. 6:10, 9:25)...

(cf. Dhorme, 90, 127; Johnson, 85).

The author of Barlaams ok Josaphats saga simplifies a reminiscence of I Peter 1:13 in his Latin source:

Barl., k. 93, 93/27-30:

...verðr þu nv heðan í fra

drengilega at herða oc staðfesta hug

þinn til þess guðs, er þu hever gevet illum qui uocauit te sanctum skilning...

Ps. Joh. Dam. 66/26-27:

...De reliquo ipse præcinges

lumbos mentis tuæ, secundum

...

Kirby (Biblical Quotation, I, 17) cites a passage from Silvesters saga as a rendering of Deut. 10:16 (HMS II, 265/4-5): "...sva sem hann mællti fyrir spamann sinn einn: Taki þer skurdarskirn hiarta ydvars ..." Johannes Belsheim (Af Bibelen paa norsk-islandsk [norröna] i Middelalderen [Christiania, 1884], p.33) takes the passage to refer to Jer. 4:4 (cf. however, Kirby, II, 137, "...Jer. 4:4 ... is not as close. The attribution to spamann sinn einn may be discounted."). Until a parallel Latin text for this part of Silvesters saga is established (the text printed by Mombricitus, Sanctuarium [Paris, 1910] does not correspond here, cf. II, 520/40-58), it is probably safer to assume that the phrase is a general reminiscence of the biblical metaphor of the circumcision of the heart than to take it as a citation of a particular scriptural verse.

5. Sthom. 185/4 - 186/14 (Nhom. 55/13 - 56/28). Sthom. preserves only the final section of this sermon which seems to draw primarily on Bede I.11, "In Octava Nativitatis Domini" (CCSL 122, 73-79) with some additional material from Ps. Haymo of Halberstadt, (Haymo of Auxerre), sermo 14 de tempore (PL 118, 90ff.; see Gunnes, 167). Neither of these texts, however, offers close parallels for the section on the "circumcision of the senses" in the OWN text, and neither Latin sermon makes use of corporal metaphors. Nor are similar metaphorical compounds found in an independent OWN reworking of Bede I.11 also preserved in Sthom. (54/1 - 56-29. "ciRcumcisio domini. Attadagr", cf. esp. 56/5ff., "Allra vitsmuna váRa scolom vér skírn taka bæþe aúgna heyrnar oc máls. hilmingar oc keNeseme..."). On the relationship between the OWN texts see Indrebø's introduction to Nhom., *43.
6. Cf. Bede I.11 (CCSL 122, 78/185-186), "...si est cordium et aurium [with reference to Acts 7:51, incircumcisi cordibus et auribus], est et omnium exterioris interiorisque hominis nostri sensuum."
7. With Sthom. 185/28.31 (Nhom. 56/4-8) cf. Bede (CCSL 122, 78/196-199):
- | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| OrápvaNðra QveNa vanþe es at | Incircumcisi olfactu et tactu qui |
| bera í hús sín ilmaNde urter at | unguento et uariis odoribus sunt |
| þær tále meþ þessom ilm oc | delibuti qui sequuntur amplexus |
| teýge til sín þa meN es eige | meretricis aspergentes [<u>var.</u> |
| cuNo sia við vélom þeiRa. En | aspergentis] cubile suum myrra et |
| naupsýn es at hveR cristeN maþr | aloe et cinamomo. [cf. Prov. 7:17] |
| hallde sér fra þessum ilm. es | |
| skíra vil vit ilmingar siNar. | |

Fritzner and the files of the Arnamagnæan dictionary record only one other example of the adjective samdauni/-a, from Barlaams ok Josaphats saga, again with reference to the "stench of sin" (cf. Fritzner's definition, "fortrolig med Stanken af noget, saa at den ikke findes afskyelig, fig."):

Barl. 86/17-19:

...vesall maðr sa er vefst
i syndum. þa verðr sva
samdauna at eigi kennir
knyk. helldr gleztt hann
ok fagnar sinni folsko.sva
sem hann have nokkon nyan
fagnað fengit...

Ps. Ioh. Dam., 64/23-25:

...Infelix quippe anima malis
consuetudinibus detenta, nec
etiam peccatorum foetorem sentit,
sed potius oblectatur in ipsis
et gaudet, quasi bonum aliquod
malitiam deputans.

Ernst Walter does not discuss the derivation of the word in his article, "Einige mit sam-präfigierte Komposita in früher altwestnordische Überlieferung," Nordeuropa. Studien 9 (1976), 103-114, although he suggests (114) that "alle mit sam-präfigierten Adjektiva scheinen Lehnbildungen [after Latin adjectives formed with the prefix con-/co-] zu sein."

Although no figurative noses are included among the corporal metaphors of the Homily Books, the homilists occasionally make use of "olfactory" metaphors. The figure, "the fragrance of virtues/good works/prayer" is especially common:

Nhom. 63/22-24:

Røykelsi fðrom vér
guði ef vér brennum
hugrenningar varar í
við-komningar ælde.
at bðner varar gere
þagian ilm guði.

Sthom. 59/20-22:

Reykelse fðrom ver
honom. ef ver breNom
hugreningar varar í
holzens fyr helgar
beoner. at ver mættem
vel hilma fyr gupe i
gðpom verkom eþa
sðpom.

Gr.10 in Ev., PL 76, 1113B:

Thus offerimus, si
cogitationes carnis per
sancta orationum studia
in ara cordis incendimus,
ut suave aliquid Deo per
coeleste desiderium
redolere valeamus.

Nhom. 60/32-34 (Sthom. 81/27-29):

Røykelse merkir ilm hælagra
bðna. [Sthom. ilm gðþra verka
oc heilagra beðna]. sva sem
Davið mælte í psalme. Greiðisc
bðn min í æuliti þíno droten
sva sem røykelsi.

Gr.10 in Ev., PL 76, 1113B:

Thure autem quod Deo incenditur
virtus orationis exprimitur.
Psalmista testante, qui dicit:
Dirigatur oratio mea sicut
incensum in conspectu tuo
[Ps. 140:2].

Sthom. 123/37 - 124/1

...þui es reykelse boret. at af hans orþe hefer hílm
laget góþra verka of allan heím.

Nhom.82/23-28 (cf.87/	AM 624 4to,	Gr.21, <u>PL</u> 76,
4-5):	<u>Leifar</u> 151/19-23:	1170D:
...Ef vér trvm ok	...þá komom vjer með	...Et nos ergo in eum
álscom ðauða Crist ok	smyrslum til grafar	qui est mortuus
<u>læitum hans með ílm</u>	drottins, ef vier	credentes, <u>si odore</u>
<u>goðra verka.</u> þa er sem	trúum á þann er ðauðr	<u>virtutum referti,</u>
vér cumem til grafar	var ok grafinn, ok	<u>cum opinione bonorum</u>
drotens með goðom	<u>leitum hans með ílm</u>	<u>operum Dominum quærimus,</u>
smyrslum.	<u>góðra verka.</u>	ad monumentum profecto
...þær hyggiur mego	...þær áhyggior líta	illius cum aromatibus
líta himnesca luti er	himneska hluti, er	venimus.
<u>með goðra verka ílm</u>	<u>með krapta ílm fara</u>	...illæ mentes supernos
læita drotens.	til guðs fyrir helgar	cives aspiciunt, quæ
	girndir.	<u>cum virtutum odoribus</u>
		ad Dominum per sancta
		desideria proficiscuntur.

See too Leifar 81/34, ílmr góþra verka (Gr.33, PL 76, 1242A, odor bonæ opinionis); Ibid. 82/1 ílmr góþra dōma (Gr.33, 1242B, odor bonæ opinionis); Ibid., 82/24 ílmr góþra verka oc ceNinga (Gr.33, 1243A, sacri eloquii bona opinio); Ibid., 198/33 ...með hinum sæta ílm himneskrar sýnar ... (PL 184, 493B, suauitate contemplationis); Bekker-Nielsen, Bibl. Arn. 25(1), Opuscula II, 1 (1961), 47/6, ílmr takna ok krapta (Gr. 20, 1166C-D, virtutes et signa); Thóm. I, 39/2-3, ... ilmanda þæf dyrlegra krapta pryddr... (Quadrilogus, cit. Ibid., 39/28, ...virtutem refertus odoribus ...); Jóns s. p. IV, Post. 490/4-5 ...með ilmanda ávexti góðra verka... (Cf., e.g., Rabanus Maurus, Allegoriae... [PL 112, 866B], "Aromata ... sunt bona opera sanctorum..."; [Ibid., 1010D-1011A], "Odor est suauitas sanctitatis ... bona vita ..."; Alan of Lille, Distinctiones... [PL 210, 711B]. "Aroma ... dicitur virtus ... sancti alios incitantes ad bona

opera ... orationes sanctorum..."; Ibid., 881B, "Odor ... fama ... virtutum vel bonorum operum".) This sort of figure was inspired at least in part by Paul's words at 2 Cor. 2:15, "Christi bonus odor sumus deo" (see Kirby, Biblical Quotation, I, 369: Sthom. 186/20-21, Nhom. 57/1-2, "Góþr ilmr erom vér fyr guþe" [cf. Haymo 14, PL 118, 96B]; Leifar 81/34-35; Bibl. Arn. 25.1, 47/8).

For some further examples of the comparison of sin to a foul odour see :

Sthom. 16/13-15:	cf., e.g., Alan of Lille,
...Jorþ kallasc hiorto	<u>Distinctiones...</u> , PL 210, 931D:
iarþlegra manna. en þat	...Vel sapientia eleganter dicitur
funar eige er saltat es.	sal, quia, sicut sal terram sterilem
Postolar kallasc sallt	reddit, condit cibos, arcet vermes,
iarþar. þuiat keningar	liberat a putredine carnis: sic
þeira styrkþo iarþleg	prælatus sua sapientia debet carnem
hiorto at þar funaþe	suam a pravis operibus sterilem
eige af saure.	facere, cibos spirituales sapientia
	condire, vermes pravorum cogitationum
	arcere, carnem a putredine peccati
	alienare...
Sthom. 81/29-31 (Nhom.	cf. Gr. 10 <u>in Ev.</u> , PL 76, 1113C:
60/34-61/2; cf. Sthom.	...Per myrrham namque, ut diximus,
59/24-25, Nhom. 63/24-26):	agitur ne mortua caro putrefiat.
...MiRa es urt su es eige	Mortuam vero carnem putrescere, est
lâtr fúna lícame daþra	hoc mortale corpus fluxui luxuriæ
manna. hon merker hrein-	deservire, ... Myrrham ergo Deo
life oc synþa vípsío þa	offerimus, quando hoc mortale corpus
es ander órar oc líkame	a <u>luxuriæ putredine</u> per condimentum
varpveíter víþ <u>synþa</u>	continentiæ custodimus.
<u>daúne.</u>	

Elucidarium (AM 238 fol.XVIII), Yves Lefèvre, L'Elucidarium et
 ed. Konráð Gíslason, Annaler les Lucidaires (Paris, 1954),
for nordisk oldkyndighed og 448/20:
Historie (1858), 163/20

(see Salvesen, Studies...,

34):

...svá sem þeir undu hér við
syndadaun...

...Quia autem hic fetore
luxuriæ dulciter delectabantur.

Bekker-Nielsen, Bibl. Arn.

25.1 (1961), 47/8-9:

...þeirra hiortv ero svo
 fost j guds ast. at þeim
 ma eigi spilla fvnon
iardligrar elskv.

Gr. 20 in Ev., PL 76, 1166D:

...Quorum corda ita in æterno
 amore solidata sunt, ut eadem
 jam terreni amoris putredo
 nulla corrumpat.

Eyes

8. The figure of the "eye of the heart/mind, etc." was immensely popular in antique and medieval literature. Christian authors could find a scriptural model in Ephesians 1:18, "illuminatos oculos cordis vestri, ut sciatis quae sit spes vocationis eius..." See generally Curtius, 136-137; Wolf Gewehr, "Der Topos 'Augen des Herzens' - Versuch einer Deutung durch die scholastische Erkenntnistheorie," Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte 46 (1972), 626-49; Riehle, The Middle English Mystics, 122-27; Javelet, Image et Ressemblance au XIIe Siècle, I, 227-228, II, 477, n.477; Thes. Ling. Lat. s.v. oculus 3 B 1 b γ (col.448/35ff.) de-is interioribus; Oxford Latin Dictionary (Oxford, 1968), s.v. oculus 7 -i mentis, animi, etc.; F. Blatt, ed., Novum Glossarium Mediae Latinitatis (Hafniae, 1975), s.v. oculus V (sens figurés), 2 interior -us B) -us cordis C) -us mentis D) -us intellectualis, E) -us contemplationis F) -us fidei, etc"; Pflieger 432; Manz 653-54, oculi cordis, -fidei, -mentis; O.E.D. s.v. eye sb.¹, 3c fig.; M.E.D. s.v. herte n. 2a (a) "eie of the -, the understanding", (c) "...hertes eie (ere), the mind". OE literature is rich in examples of such metaphors: heortan eagan - Christ 1328; Elfric LS xxii, 47; xxiiiB, 425, 559; (= oculi) CP 69/11 (PL 77, 25B), GD 3/20 (Moricca 13/7); (= oculus cordis) CP 99/22 (PL 77, 32D); modes eagan - Boethius 8/26 (cf. I, pr. 1, 44 acies); 82/8-9, 10, 12 (cf. Meters XX, 257-8, 261, 265, 267; III, met. 9, 24 animi uisus); 89/14, 16, 20 (cf. Meters XXI, 22, 37-38; III, met. 10, 11 acies); 122/6; 147/25; CP 65/8 (cf. PL 77, 24A); Soliloquies 1/22, 22/21, 23/1, 26/17, 28/4, 13, 30/32, 35/16, 48/13, 24, 67/5, 17; (= oculi) CP 29/16 (PL 77, 15B), 69/11, 15(25B), 259/21 (69B), 413/15 (107C), 415/27 (108C), GD 3/20 (Moricca, 13/7); (= mentis oculus/-i) CP 57/11 (PL 77, 22B), 349/20 (90B), 447/31 (119C), 467/4 (126D), GD 100/30 (Moricca 78/25),

106/7 (81/22-23), 107/16 (82/10-11), 188/23-24 (149/3), 218/3 (183/9), 270/3 (238/3), 272/2 (239/22), 297/2-3 (265/5), Rule of Chrodegang 88/16-17 (Lat. Ibid., 85/36); (= oculus cordis) CP 99/22 (PL 77, 32D); (= oculi Ecclesiæ) CP 129/15 (PL 77, 39C); sawle eagan - Soliloquies 28/4, 30/12, 35/16; inran gewitnysse eagan - Lib. Scint. 59.13 (interni testis oculi, CCSL 117, 191).

Certainly the "eye of the mind" seems the least unnatural of the corporal metaphors, and its popularity probably owes much to a general association of "knowing" with "seeing". Cf., e.g., Pokorny IGEW I, 1125ff.: '2 u(e)ði - "erblicken, sehen" (ursprüngl. Aorist), Zustandsverbum u(e)idē(i)-, Perf. uoid-a, "habe gesehen, weiß", woher die Bedeutung, "wissen" auch auf andere Formen übertragen wurde...'

- 9 Cf. the independent translation of Gr. 34 in Nhom. (139/24-26):

... en hvat ero slikir nema brennendr ok logendr.
er sva hæita æost unnu guði at þeir vilja at
honum æinum hyggja...

- 10 For this source see Gunnes, p.170. The phrase augu hugar is used to render oculi fidei at Leifar 34/24 (= Gr. 30 in Ev., PL 76, 1225C see Walter, Lex. Lehn., 171 and n.2). Cf. too the late medieval poem "Vegsemd allra vífa" (ÍM II 86), st. 20:

draga kroszenn minn
trwar siðner setia á hann

- 11 Cf. the slightly younger translation preserved in AM 238 fol. xii (ed. A. Loth, Bibl. Arn. 31, Opuscula 5 [1975], 114, 1vb/26-29):

...Enn nu uekium uer hugi vora til sigurs at
uer stigim yfir uora ouine þann er fagna uilldi
falli uorv. Lukum uer upp augu hugskota vorra
at uer siaðim við diofuls taalgræfum ok forðimz
þer ...

For further examples of the metaphor see Sthom. 100/28 (Nhom. 97/7-8), Sthom. 100/31 (Nhom. 97/10-11), Sthom. 181/27 (Nhom. 49/15-16), Sthom. 191/16; Leifar (hugskotsauga/-u = mentis/-ium oculus/-i) 63/29 (Gr. 34 in Ev., PL 76, 1253C), 84/33 (Gr. 33 in Ev., PL 76, 1245C), 91/19 (Moricca 149/3), 108/1-2 (Ibid. 78/25), 109/24 (Ibid. 81/22-23), 110/5-6 (Ibid. 82/10-11), 131/32 (Ibid. 238/3), 132/27 (Ibid. 239/22), (= memoriæ oculi) 49/2 (Gr. 36 in Ev., 1266C-D), (= cognitiones) 150/18 (Moricca 106/13); Veraldar saga 84/6; Stjórn 20/33 (cf. Spec. Hist., Lib. 1, cap. 31, f.12), 132/10-11 fyrir sin hugskotz augu (ante oculos, Spec. Hist., Lib. 1, cap. 107, f.37); Jóns s. helga B., Bisk. I, 219/15; Marfu saga 1100/17; Alfr. Isl. III, 92/4; Thóm. II, I. 234/6; Clári saga 70/1; Ísl. Ev. LXXXI. 2, 47.

On the variety of Latin terms translated by hugskot in OWN religious prose (conscientia, anima, mens, cogitatio, cor) see Walter, Lex. Lehn., 107, n.4, and Ole Widding, "Conscientia in norrøne oversættelser", Bibl. Arn. XXV, 1, Opuscula 2.1 (1961), 48-51.

Cf. too the phrase augu hugar:

Sthom. 76/33-36:	Gr. 25, PL 76, 1196B:
...þa es ec lít a petar	...Perpendo enim Petrum, con-
postola. eþa ec hyG at	sidero latronem, aspicio Zacchæum,
þiofenom es leiþrettesc a	intueor Mariam et nihil in his
crossenom. eþa þa es ec se	aliud video, nisi <u>ante oculos</u>
a zakeum eþa mario. þa	<u>nostros</u> posita spei et
fiNec þar sétt dôme vilnaþ	pœnitentiæ exempla.
ar oc iþranar <u>fyr augo</u>	
<u>hugar vars.</u>	

and, e.g. Konungsskuggsiá 1/1-2, "Þa er eg hug vmm leidda allar jþrottir firi augu hugar..."; Prologue to the Grammatical Treatises in AM 242 fol. (Cod. Wormanus), STUAGNL 12 (1884), 155/15-17, "...ok þeir sem nu vilja með nýiv kveða, hafi smasari ok hvos ok skygn hugsvnar avgva..." For a reference to the "inner eyes" see "Erkebiskop Paals andet Statut (1336)", NGL III, 282/21-23:

...Her til sortar blindleiki agirninnar sva miok
hin innri augu sumra prestanna at ... fa þeir ægi
litið lios sannleiksins...

12. No Latin source has yet been identified for this section of the sermon (see Gunnes, 173-4}. For further OWN examples of the metaphor see, e.g.,

<u>Barl.</u> 145/24-25:	Ps. Joh. Dam. 96/2-3:
...var ovena oc fylgiusom	...mala consuetudo ueteris inoleuit
kynfylgia <u>hevir blindat augu</u>	erroris, <u>oculos cæcauit cordis</u>
<u>hiartta mins</u> ...	<u>mei</u> ...
<u>Ibid.</u> , 209/33-35:	Ps. Ioh. Dam. 134/2-3:
Her með hafðe hann reinnt	...Insuper et mundum <u>anime oculum</u>
<u>hiartta auga</u> af allre synd-	ab omni terrena caligine habuit...
legre oc veralldlegre fyst...	

Liknarbraut, st. 46, Skjð B II, 172:

leiðum hþró á hauðri
hjarta várs með tþrum
systkin mín fyr sjónir
siðgætis meinlæti.

13. Cf. Kirby, Biblical Quotation I, 222: Sthom. 140/6-10, " ... þuiat hann leif litillæti ambáttar síNar... Oc miskoN hans es yfir allt maNkyn ..."; Leifar 156/17, "...Leit guð lítelæti ambáttar sinnar..."; Maríu saga 23/25-28 (363/16-20}, "...því at hann leit lítillæti ambáttar sinnar... Hans miskunn er yfir öllum mönnum, er hann hræðaz..."

14. See Lex. Lehn., 123.

15. As Walter points out (123, n.6), of the entries for miscunnar-augu in Larsson, Orðförráðet, s.v. miscunn, only the reference to Sthom. 11/26 is correct; the others should read miscunnar-verc. Holtsmark, Orðförráðet contains no entry for miskunnarauga.

16. Thóm. II (cf. I, 166/2ff.) does not retain the metaphor.

17. Bjarne Berulfsen cites this passage as an example of the influence of scriptural phraseology in fourteenth-century Norwegian diplomas, "selv om det ikke er noe direkte bibelsitat" (Kulturtradisjon fra en Storhetstid, p.285).

18. On this entry in Maríu saga, "Af Walltero abota" (789-800), see Ole Widding and Hans Bekker-Nielsen, "The Virgin Bares her Breast," Bibl. Arn. XXV. 1, Opuscula II. 1 (Kbh., 1961), 76-79, where reference is made to Latin versions of the story in BM mss. Additional 15723 (13th cent., 87v-88v) and Harley 2851 (c.1300, 82r-83r). For some additional analogues (none of which could, however, be called a source for the OI version) cf. Miracles de la Bienheureuse Vierge Marie d'après un manuscrit du XIIIe siècle, transcrit par M. Ch. Bouchet (Orléans, 1888), 38-40, "De abbate anglico", 64-66, "De monacho infirmitatem simulante" (= H. Isenard, "Recueil des Miracles de la Vierge du XIIIe siècle," Bulletin de la Société archéologique, scientifique et littéraire du Vendomois XXVI [1887], 56-58, 122-124); Sister Mary Vincentine Gripkey, "Mary Legends in Italian Manuscripts in the Major Libraries of Italy", MS 14 (1952), 44 (Group III, 69) and n.110 (esp. ref. to BM ms. Harley 495 [early 14th cent.], 59r-60r, cf. Herbert, Catalogue of Romances..., III [London, 1910], 535, no.5); Siegfried Wenzel, "A Latin Miracle with Middle English Verses", Neuphilologische Mitteilungen 72 (1971), 77-85.

19. Cf., e.g., Add. 15723, 88r/17-18, "...Ecce filius meus propter peccata tua auertit faciem suam a te ..."; Harley 495, 59v, a/19-22, "...clamauit fortiter ad iudicem petens misericordiam per adiurationes. Ipse uero semper clausit oculos..."

20. Gering (Isl. Ev. II, 124-125) notes that versions of this story are found among the exempla of Etienne de Bourbon (ed. A. Lecoy de la Marche, Anecdotes Historiques, légendes et apologues... [Paris, 1877], 75, nr 79), in Vincent of Beauvais' Speculum Morale, III, 3, 10 (cit. Isl. Ev. II, 124-125), in Marfu saga (249-252), and in the Osw Klosterläsning (ed. Klemming [Stockholm, 1877-78], 108). None of these versions of the story contain a metaphor like "the eyes of mercy", but the figure is suggested by the words of the "Salve Regina" itself (Antiphonale Romanae Ecclesiae [Parisiis/Tornaci/Romae, 1949], "Dominica ad Completorium", p.68), "...Eia ergo, Advocata nostra, illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte..." In the twelfth century, the Cistercians used this prayer as an antiphon for the principal Marian feasts - the Purification, Annunciation, Assumption, and Nativity (see W. Irtenauf, LTh.K. 9, 281-282, R.J. Snow, N.C.E. 12, 1002; Jose Marie Canal, Salve Regina Misericordiae, Temi e Testi 9 [Roma, 1963], 37-52). The early popularity of the "Salve Regina" is attested by reminiscences of the prayer in the writings of, e.g., Jean of Fécamp (in a prayer to God the Father, ed. Leclercq and Bonnes, Un maître de la vie spirituelle au XIe siècle..., 222-228; cit. Canal, 28-29),

O mi custos, o mi heros,
mi pater misericors,
flecte, precor, ad me tuos
miseranter oculos.

and Amedeus of Lausanne (Hom. VII, "De B. Virginis Assumptione" [c.1145-59], PL 188, 1342A-B), "...illos misericordissimos oculos, quibus coelum illustratur, ad nos convertens..." (cit. H. Leclercq, DACL 15:1, 714ff; see further Canal, 83-95). The "Salve Regina" is also cited in the Distinctiones Monasticae, s.v. oculus miserationis

(Pitra, Spicilegium Solesmense II, 202). Canal suggests (p.36),

La expresión: "misericordes oculos ad nos converte",
puede estar inspirada, por contraste, en el verso
del Cantar: "Averte oculos tuos a me, quia ipsi
me avolare fecerunt" (Cant.6:4); o en este otro
de Isaias: "Et cum extenderitis manus vestras,
avertam oculos meos a vobis" (Is. 1:15).

(Cf. the Vetus Latina version of Cant. 6:4, "Converte oculos tuos
contra me, quoniam ipsi elevaverunt me."). On the use of the antiphon
in Norway in the late middle ages see Lilli Gjerløy "Maria-antifoner",
KLNM XI, 376; cf. Schottmann, Die isländische Mariendichtung, 514,
528ff.; ÍM II, 241f.

- 21 The story is a version of the Theophilus legend (see Isl. Ev.
II, 137-138).

- 22 On the frequent association of the eyes with favour, love, mercy, etc.
in biblical Hebrew see Dhorme, L'emploi métaphorique des noms de
parties du corps..., 77; Johnson, The Vitality of the Individual...,
47ff. Cf., e.g., Gen. 33:10, si inveni gratiam in oculis tuis...
(Stjórn, 185/29-30, Ef ek þiggr nökkura miskunn edr eptirlæti i þinn
augliti...); Ruth 2:10, ...ut invenirem gratiam ante oculos tuos...
(Stjórn, 422/23-24 ...at ec skyllði finna sva mikla miskunn i þinv
avgliti...); I Sam. 16:22, ...invenit enim gratiam in oculis meis
(Stjórn 461/5, ...þvi at hann fann miskunn i mino augliti); I Sam.
29:6, ...quia rectus es tu et bonus in conspectu meo (Stjórn 489/7-8,
Væit ek at þv ert goðr oc gæðfastr i mino augliti...); and further,
Deut. 11:12, Job 36:7, Ps. 9:30, 10:5, 31:8, 32:18, 33:16, 65:7, 100:6,
Eccli. 11:13, Jer. 24:6, 40:4, Amos 9:4, 8. See too Haymo of
Halberstadt (recte Auxerre), PL 118, 778D (cf. PL 95, 1548D) on
Luke 6:20: "Elevatio quippe oculorum Jesu Christi, amplioris

misericordiæ munera significat." Miskunnaraugu may be styled after a liturgical model; cf. Manz 656, oculi/intuitus/respectus pietatis/misericordiæ, 849-50, respectus clemens/clementiæ.

23 Analogous periphrases are amply attested in OWN literature:

at renna miskunnarhug/vårkunnarhug til e-s

Leifar 43/24-25:

...En þat er for retlatra til
þeirra er i quolom ero. at
reNa miscuNar hug til þeira...

Ibid., 43/28-29:

...ero sva samlvndar við
retleti Gvps. at þer reNa
þngom varcuNar hvg til
þeira es fvr dþmpir ero...

Ibid., 43/33-34:

...þeir reNa eigi varcuNar
hug til recninga Gups...

Gr.40 in Ev., PL 76, 1308A-B:

...ita ad afflictos atque in
tormentis positos transire justorum
est mente ire per misericordiam...

Ibid. 1308B:

...tanta rectitudine constring-
untur, ut nulla ad reprobos
compassione moveantur...

Ibid., 1308B-C:

...eis nullo modo ex aliqua
compassione miserentur...

See Walter, Lex.Lehn., 123: "...Da miskunnarhugr und vårkunnarhugr sonst und später nicht belegt sind, hat man sie wohl als singuläre Bildungen des GH-Übersetzers zu betrachten..."

at renna/líta ástaraugum til e-s

Gunnlaugs s. ormstungu, k.3, ÍF 3, 56/16-18:

...þeim ástaraugum renni ek til barns þessa, at víst eigi
nenna ek, at þat sé út borit...

Knýtlinga s., k. 31, STUAGNL 46, 77/20-23:

...Et fyrsta kveld veizlunnar sá konungr þar eina fagra
konu, svá at hann þóttiz varla sét hafa friðari konu
... Konungr leit ástaraugum til hennar...

at líta/renna/sjá girndaraugum

Stjórn 54/9-11: cf. Spec. Hist., I, cap. lix (Gen. 6:2):

...synir Seth saa girndar ... filij Seth...concupis-

augum til dætra Kayns... centia victi filiabus Cayn

lógduz meðr þeim ok toku þær commixti sunt...

ser til eiginkuinna...

Ibid., 125/24-26:

cf. Comestor, PL 198, 1102B-C:

...af hueriu er hennar

...In quo vis formæ illius

einkannlig fegrð má uel

miranda notatur, quæ nonageria

markaz. þar sem menn rendu

adhuc amari poterat...

girndaraugum ok ástarhug

til hennar þann tíma er

hon uar niræð.

Agathu s. meylar I, HMS I,

cf. Mombricitus, I, 37/30-31:

1/5-6:

...saurlifir iarll leit

...libidinosus autem ad aspectum

girndar-augum a þessa ena

uirginis pulcherrimæ oculorum

göfgu mey...

suorum concupiscentiam commonebat.

at sjá hjálparaugum

Heilagra meylar drápa, st. 12, Skjð. B II, 585:

hvern dag sá hún með hjálpar-augum

himna dýró, er guð várr skyrði.

at sjá sældaraugum

Den islandske lægebog, ed. Kr. Kaalund, Kgl. Danske Viden-

skabernes Selskabs Skrifter. Række 6, Hist.-Fil. Afd.,

Bd. 6, No. 4 (Kbh., 1907), 368 (14)/19-20:

...Guð líti mic ok godir menn, siae hverr aa mic sældar

augum, ægis-halm er ec berr i millum bruna...

at sjá vinar augum til e-s

Ólafs s. Tryggvasonar en Mesta, k.174, 2. Bd., 13/16 - 14/3

/Flat. I, 337/25-28, "Þáttur af Ögmundi dytt ok Gunnari helming"):

...hun mælti. eigi muntu uera ialla staði giæfu maör. þviat

Freyr lítr eigi vinar augum til þín. Nu huil þik her fyrst

.iij. nætr. ok ufta þa huersu Frey þokkniz til þín.

Partalopa s., ed. O. Klockhoff, Upsala Universitets Årsskrift (1877), 33/14-17:

...Nv geingr Partalopi at honvm ok mælti: godan dag, bondi.

Enn Gramr sa eigi vinar avgvm til hans ok svaradi honvm: alldri siertv heill.

Cf. too some other interesting OWN ocular compounds:

andaraugu: Mar. 1002/29; Jöns s. postola IV, Post. 480/25-26

skilningaraugu: Leifar 35/30 (intelligentiæ oculus, Gr.30 in Ev., PL 76, 1226C); Vitæ Patrum II, k.237, HMS II, 669/38-39 (oculi intellectuales, PL 73, 979C)

skynsemdarauga/-u: Leifar 187/27; Barl. 73/3-5 (mentis sensus, Ps. Ioh. Dam. 50/36-37); Nik. s. II, k.86, HMS II, 99/13-15, "...hefir blindat sin skynsemdaraugu með gullpenningum" (cf. Mombritius II, 302/37-40; Spec. Hist., Lib. 13, cap. 72, ...munere excaecatus...); Thóm. II, k.44, I, 302/16.

upplitningarauga: Mar. 683/31

Ears

24. Cf., e.g., Durandus, Rationale (Naples, 1859), IV. 24, "De Evangelio", sec. 24, p.202:

Auditur etiam capite nudato. Primo, ut attentio
adesse demonstratur, ... Secundo, ut quinque
sensus patuli sint ad audiendum ...

Sicardus, Mitrale, III, cap.4, PL 213, 111D:

...caput detegimus, innuentes quod attente
verbum Domini audire debeamus...

25. See below, pp. 662ff.

26. See J.T.P., "Sources", 169ff., 175; Ælfric, Lives of Saints I, xiii, 69-86.

27. Turville-Petre (Ibid., 178-179) compares similar warnings against unruly behaviour in some of the sermons of Caesarius of Arles (13, 16, 19, 50, 55, 73), the Tractatus de rectitudine catholicae conversationis attributed to Eligius of Noyon, the Dicta Pirmini, and the Admonitio ad filium spiritualem ascribed to Saint Basil. Although none of these texts makes use of an "auricular" metaphor, almost all of them contain passages which might have inspired the Norwegian homilist to introduce such a figure. Cf., e.g. Caesarius 13, CCSL 103, 66 [64/23-26]:

In ecclesia stantes nolite verbosare, sed lectiones
divinas patienter audite: qui enim in ecclesia
verbosare voluerit, ... nec ipse audit, nec alios
audire permittit.

Ibid., 19, 89 [86/2-3]:

...lectiones divinas quae leguntur cum silentio
et quiete suscipite...

Tractatus §7, PL 40, 1174/33-35:

...ibi non causas aut rixas vel otiosas fabulas agatis:
sed lectiones divinas cum silentio auscultate.

28. cit. Tveitane, En Norrøn Versjon av Visio Pauli, p.16. For the example from "Om Prestestevne" see E. Hertzberg, Glossarium, NGL V, s.v. úljóðan, "ulyd, støi".
29. ed. Gustav Storm, "En gammel Gildeskraa fra Trondhjem," Sproglig-Historiske Studier tilegnede Professor C.R. Unger (Kristiania, 1896), p.219, sec. 11 (on the text, see further D.A. Seip, "Gildeskraaer: Norge," KLNM V, 320-321). Storm translates (p.221), "...om han gjør Ulyd".

Cf. the similar use of the term úljóð (also glossed "ulyd, støi , skraal" by Hertzberg) in "Skraa for St Olafsgildet i Onarheim", NGL V, 19, sec. 19:

Item hwar som gðrer olyudh ner minnen syngasth
eller aaldermannen talar fðrer bøthe ij. lybyska.

Fritzner defines úhljóð, n., "Støi som volder at man ikke kan høre eller fatte hvad der tales", and cites an example from Njáls saga, k.105, íF 12, 271/8-12:

...Um daginn eptir gengu hváirtveggju til lögbergs,
ok nefndu hvárir vátta, kristnir menn ok heiðnir,
ok soggðusk hvárir ór lögum annarra, ok varð þá svá
mikit óhljóð at lögbergi, at engi nam annars mál.

CV gives the definition "shoutings" and refers to Njála, k.8, 28/8-11,

...Þá kvað Mörör þat upp, at hann mundi eigi berjask
við Hrút; þá varð óp mikit at lögbergi ok óhljóð,
ok hafði Mörör af ina mestu svívirðing.

and to Flat. I, 211/1-3, Óláfs Saga Tryggvasonar, k.170, "Þáttur Þorleifs jarlaskálds",

...varð af þessu hark ok hareysti sua
at heyrde vm alla hallina. En er jall uerðr þessa
uarr spyrr hann huat ualldi ohliode þessu.

Óhljóðr, m., was used poetically as a heiti for "wind" (Lex. Poet., s.v., "stærkt støjende"; Skjð B I, 674, Þulur IV^{oo}, "Veðra heiti," 2),

and óhljóð, n., is found as a heiti for "battle" (Lex. Poet., s.v., "stærk stöðj, larm"; Skjð B II, 2, Bjarni Kolbeinsson, Jómsvíkinga-drápa, st.5). As Erland Rosell points out, however, in his study, Prefixet o- i nordiska språk I (Upsala, 1942; pp.144-145, 166-167, 180-181), the sense of óhljóð in the prose passages cited clearly depends on the original meaning of hljóð - "listening, (power of) hearing" - "...och bör sålundas förstås: 'icke tystnad, uraktlåtenhet att iakttaga den lyssnande tystnad, som påbjudits, "äskats" (på tingen e. d.)'" (145). He adds that it is worth observing that, in Osw. as well as OWN, the word "uteslutande förekommer i fråga om úhljóð, oliudh på tingen, i rådstugan, i kyrkan eller annorstädes, där tystnad skall iakttagas" (145); and he cites analogous Osw. examples from legal texts (cf. Söderwall, s.vv. oliudh, n., 1; oliudhan, f., 1), e.g.:

Magnus Erikssons Stads lag. Radzstuffw balker 2:5, SGL XI, 250:
 Gör nokor oliwdh [var. oliwdhan] inne a radhstwu
 ella vte fore rættenum, tha borghamæstara ella
 radhmæn kæromal hõra ella dõma, bõte hwarío sin
 han thet gör ena halffwa mark konungenum ok
 stadhenum.

Christoffers Lands lag. Konungx balker 29:1, SGL XII, 46:
 Om then som oliudh gör a tinge ...

Ibid., Tingmaala balker 43, SGL XII, 264:
 Gör nokor merkelikit oliudh a tinge for rættenom,
 bõte VI õra rettarens ensak...

Interestingly, even the examples of these words cited by Söderwall under the meaning "missljud, disharmoni" (oliudh 2, oliudhan 2) have to do with noisy disturbances in church:

Lucidarium, ed. G.E. Klemming Heliga Birgittas Uppenbarelser V, SESS. (1883-4), cap.4, "Huru systrana skulu haffua sik j smaa tidhenom oc psalmum," 63/3-6:
 ...Än hwilkin en systir sik kan ey medh androm
 sãmia j sangenom, Tha är henne bättra thia ällir
 saktelika sionga, än medh ropande röst allom göra oliwdhan.

Ibid., cap.6, "Huru systrana, skula hafa sik til smaa tidhenar äptir mässoana," 65/26-28:
 ...Oc hwär een syster haffui siin psaltara ypnan
 fore sik, at ey warde märkelikin willa ällir oliwdh j chorenum...

30. This apparent "modification" of the meaning of öhljóðan is in part attributable to the ambiguity of the Indo-germanic root from which the word derives (cf. Pokorny, IGEW [Bern/München, 1959], I. 605ff. s.v. I. kleu-, kleuə-: klū- "'hören'..., auch 'wovon man viel hört, berühmt, Ruhm'..."; Alexander Jóhannesson, IEW, 276-277, s.v. I. kleu-, "hljóð n., 'zuhören, stille, laut,...!'; de Vries, AeW, s.v. hljóð n., "gehör, schweigen; laut, ton; horn"). For an explanation of the double significance of *kleu cf. Jost Trier's suggestion (Lehm. Etymologien zum Fachwerk, Münstersche Forschungen 3 [1951], p.57) that ^{the word} kleu be compared with the root *kel in the sense, "Zaun, zäunen" (cf. Pokorny, IGEW, I. 552ff., s.v. 4. kel- "bergen, verhüllen"; Trier, "Zaun und Mannring", Paul und Braunes Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur. 66 [Halle, 1942], 242) with reference to the archetypal social gathering - the "ring of men" in which some speak while others listen. Cf. de Vries, AeW, s.v. hljóð:

...Trier...bemerkt dass wörter für "hören, gehorchen, lob" usw. die gemeinschaft des mannringes (vgl. þing) voraussetzen, und also aus der situation der volksversammlung hervorgegangen sind; vgl. bes. die bed.

"schweigen" im An., also sich auf den lauschenden ring beziehend.

31. op.cit., p.16.

32. The proverbial phrases "to turn a deaf ear" and "to preach to deaf ears" are found in most of the European languages. See, e.g. A. Otto, Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer (Leipzig, 1890), § 212, 47-48, surdīs auribus dicta, R. Häussler, Nachträge zu A. Otto... (Hildesheim, 1968), 96, 138, 262; Tobler-Lommatzsch, Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch (Wiesbaden, 1925-), s.v. oreille, Bd.VI, 1232/24ff., faire (la) sorde oreille; Tommaseo-Bellini, Dizionario della Lingua Italiana (Torino/Napoli, 1865-79), s.v. orecchio, 17, Fare orecchie di mercante, 18, Fare la sorda orecchia/li sordi orecchi; O.E.D., s.v. Deaf a., 2 fig., M.E.D., s.v. def, adj., 2(b) - ere, Tilley E 13; Grimm DW, s.v. Ohr, III.1 (d), tauben, todtēn ohren singen, predigen; Dahlerup, Ordbog over det danske Sprog, s.v. døv, 1.2, vende det døde øre til (noget); SAO, s.v. döf, 1(b), Tala predika för döfva öron, vända döfva öron till ngt. The use of the figure by Christian authors perhaps owes something to an association with biblical verses like Jer. 5:21, Matt. 13:13ff., Acts 28:26ff., and the Psalmist's parable of the "deaf adder," Ps. 57:5 (58:4).

33. op.cit., p.16, n.33. Cf. Blöndal, s.v. óhljóðseyru, 2:

...døve øren: (Ordspr.) ljá skal óhljóðseyru,
ef illa er talað..., læg døve øren til Bagvaskelse;
sjer eru hver óhljóðseyrun á þjer! det har du
oppfattet aldeles urigtigt.

It is interesting to note in this connection that Fritzner also records an OWN example of the use of the word úhljóð, n., in the sense, "a ringing in the ears (Susen for ørene)" in a prescription

from the thirteenth-century medical manuscript AM 655 xxx 4to, ed.
 Konráð Gíslason, Fyrre og Fyrretyve... Prøver... (Kbh., 1860), 474/
 16-17:

Malurt blandin við ufsa gall ok smurt of eyro
 manns - þat styrkir þau ok hrindr frá óhljóð...

Cf. Söderwall s.v. oliudh 3, "susning for öronen", with reference to
 G.E. Klemming, ed., Läke -och Örtte-böcker från Sveriges Medeltid,
SESS 26 (1883-86), VII. 36, 200/7-8:

Malörth blandat mȝ oxa galla smör ther öron
 mād̥h thȝ wrakār borth oliw̥d

(see I. Reichborn-Kjennerud, "Vår gamle Trolldomsmedisin," V, NVAOS
 [1947], II. Hist.-Filos. Kl., p.23). Rosell (op.cit., 145) suggests
 that this sense of the word is also dependent on the meaning "icke-
 tystnad". Cleasby-Vigfusson, however, s.v. óhljóð, n., takes the word
 to be a by-form of ofhljóð, "a violent singing sound"; cf. Ibid.,
s.v. ofheyrn, f., medic., "a tingling in the head". Similarly, the
 term óhljóðseyru is used in MI of the valves or "auricles" of the
 heart (with reference to the sound made by blood coursing through
 them?); see, e.g., Jón Þorkelsson, Supplement til Islandske Ordbøger
 3. Saml. (Rvk., 1890-97), II, s.v. Blöndal suggests, s.v., that this
 form of the word is, in fact, a corruption by folk-etymology of úllins-
eyru (although the fact that this word is ^{not} found in early sources
 makes this hypothesis doubtful):

Flige ved Hjærtet paa slagtede Dyr (auriculi), der
 skæres af og smides bort ved Slagtningen, samtidig
 med at der gøres et Snit (Kors) i Hjærtet; rimeligvis
 har man her Lævninger af en gammel Offerskik ved
 Offring til Ullinn (Ullr). Ordet forekommer nu ofte
 i forvanskede Former: óhljóðseyru, úlnis-, úlluns-,
óláns-, úlflyóts-, úlunds- osv. idet Forbindelsen med
Ullinn forlængst er glemt.

cf. Guðmundur Hannesson, Alþjóðleg og Islensk Liffæraheiti, revised version of 2. ed. by Jón Steffensen (Rvk., 1972), 93, "auricula atrii [cordis] - ullinseyra".

34. See, e.g., Jómsvíkinga saga (AM 291 4to), ed. Carl af Petersens, STUAGNL 7 (Kbh., 1882), 115/1-9:

...nv ferr jarl a laNd vpp meþ noccora menn oc
ferr norþr í æýna þrimsigþ...scorar á fvlltrva sín
þorgerþe hævrþa troll. En hon dæwfheyritz víþ bõn
jarls oc þyckiz haN þat fiNa at hon mon honom ræþ
orþin...

(cf. Flat. I, 191/17-22; AM 510 4to, ed. Carl af Petersens [Lund, 1879], 79/6-14); Den store saga om Olav den Hellige 751/33-752/1 (Flat. II, 26/5-9, k.23, "Olafr konungr vann margyghe"):

...þoat vuinrin vissi sig uanmattugan at geta
nockura mot stóðu haft við suo agætan guds Riddara
sem var hinn hæilagí Olafr konungr Haralldz son
þa uill hann þo uist æigi dæwfheyraz við eyrende
ok akall sinna kumpana...

Magnúsar saga góða, Fms. VI, 30/13-15 (Hulda, AM 66 fol.), k.17:

...hann var manna fríðastr, hlýðinn vinum sínum
um öll góð ráð, en við rög vandra manna var hann
dæwfheyror.

(cf. Flat. III, 266/1-2).

35. Lex. Lehn., 60; cf. Walter, "'Gehorsam' im Altwestnordischen," Nordeuropa. Studien 5 (1972), 83-89. On the influence of Latin oboedire on hlýða and its Germanic cognates see further Thors, 500-501; Werner Betz, "Aufgaben deutscher Wortforschung," Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung 18, N.F. 3 (1962), 10-11; s.a., Deutsch und Lateinisch (2. Aufl., Bonn, 1965), 140-142.

36. Cf. Thes.Ling.Lat., s.v. auris 11, "i.q. obedientia". Isidore derives obaudiens ab aure, eo quod audiat (Etymologiae, X, 196). Ps. 17:45 is also cited in chapter five of the Benedictine Rule, "De obedientia", 5. See further, e.g., Rabanus Maurus' interpretation of Matt. 13:9 (PL 107, 941C),

Aures enim audiendi, aures sunt cordis, et sensus
interioris aure obediendi et faciendi quæ jussa
sunt.

and Bernard of Clairvaux's commentary on Song of Songs I:10 (Sermo 41 super Cantica Canticorum, ed. J. Leclercq, C.H. Talbot, H.M. Rochais, S. Bernardi opera, vol.II [Romae, 1958], 29/17-30/1),

...facturi sint illi muraenulas pulchras et pretiosas,
quae sunt aurium ornamenta. Atque hoc propterea, ut
opinor quia fides ex auditu ... ac si illud Prophetæ
ei dicant: "AUDI, FILIA, ET VIDE. [Ps. 44:11] Videre
desideras, sed audi prius. Gradus est auditus ad visum.
Proinde audi, et inclina aurem tuam ornamentis quae
tibi facimus, ut per auditus oboedientiam ad gloriam
pervenias visionis...

For an OE example see Elfric CH II, 228/22-23 (on John 8:47):

...se is fram Gode þe Godes beboda mid gehyrsumum
eare gehýrð...

G.R. Owst cites an interesting example of the metaphor, "the ears of obedience", from a discourse on the all-consuming "leprosy of lust" preserved in a fifteenth-century English collection of Sunday sermons (Preaching in Medieval England [Cambridge, 1926], 326, BM Add. 21253, 27 b/16ff.):

...Item per lepram luxurie peccatum designatur...
quia consumit totum hominem ... aufert ... oculos
intelligencie ... aures obediencie nares discrecionis
capillos bone cogitacionis barbam fortitudinis svpercilia
sancte indignacionis manus bone operacionis pedes sancte
affecionis linguam confessionis oracionis et predicacionis...

Cf. perhaps Rabanus Maurus, De Universo XVIII. 5, "De medicina",
PL 111, 502D:

...surdus, qui contemnit audire verbum Dei. Aures
 abscisam habet, qui obedientiam in Dei praeceptis
 non exhibet...

37. For another example of the association of "deaf ears" with úhlýðni
 see Thóm. II, k.52, I. 336/14-17:

Þetta bréf herra páfans sem nú var lesit, flyzt
 Heinreki konungi fyrir sunnan sjó í Nórðmandi, heyrir
hann þat at kalla með eyrum líkamans, ok þó er hann
haróla fjarri, sakir úhlýðni ok haróleika hjartans...

38. European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, p.136, n.17; see further
Thes. Ling. Lat., s.v. auris I. 1. h.

For some OE auricular metaphors see, e.g., Ælfric LS I. vii. 330,
CP 31/14, earan þære heortan; CP 337/21, modes earan; Napier, Wulfstan
 252/7-9, Blickling Homilies 107/1-3, mildheortnesse earan; A.H.
 Thompson and U. Lindelöf, Rituale Ecclesiae Dunelmensis, Surtees
 Society 140 (London, 1927), cap. 22. 3; cap. 131.1, eare ðinre
arfæstnisse (= ares pietatis).

39. The phrase ares praecordiorum from the prayer now found in the Missale
Romanum, Fer. VI in Parasc., Oratio Solemnis 5, "pro catechuminis", is
 rendered simply hugscot at Sthom. 70/32.

Schottmann (Die isländische Mariendichtung,
 p.134) suggests that the phrases líknar eyru and myskunnar eyra in two
 late medieval Icelandic religious lyrics may copy a liturgical model
 like ares misericordiae:

Milská (ÍM I. 57), 84:
 Maria drottning huern mann heyrir
 heyrandi med líknar eyrum

Rósa (fM I, 6), 1:

FAdER og son áá hæstum hæðum
 himna smíðuR til jardaR níðri
 hneig þu þitt enn helgi drottenn
 heyranda myskunnar eyra

Cf., e.g., the use of these metaphors in the parallel texts for the Good Friday prayers of the Regularis Concordia cited by Lilli Gjerløw (Adoratio Crucis, p.123, Brussels Missal, 60v),

...perueniant ad aures pietatis tuę preces quas
 pro me fundo in hac hora coram te...

(Ibid., p.133, Rouen Psalter, 132v).

...perueniant ad aures misericordię tuę orationes
 quas pro me misero peccatore effundo coram te...

Hands

40. Neither of the principal Latin analogues identified for this sermon
 - Bede I. 18 (CCSL 122, 128-33) and Ambrosius Autpertus' "Sermo ...
 in Purificatione S. Marie" (PL 89, 1291ff., see Gunnes, 169-170;
 van Arkel, p.14) - makes use of a phrase like manus fidei. Gunnes
 remarks (p.170), "Særlig mot slutten er materialet sterkt bearbeidet,
 og en del nytt er lagt ^{til} ^{enda} fra andre kilder," but he does not name
 specific parallel texts.

41. Cf. the freer rehandling of the same passage at Nhom. 143/4-7 (and
Leifar 167/13-16 [AM 237 a fol.]):

Rennum vér oc þa opt hug vǫrom til himnescrar
 fagnaða. ok fysumz af ollum hug til engla dyrðar.
 ok minnumc þo at vér erom sialfer mold ok asca.
ok ræinsum ós í tara brvnni af synda sauri.

On the relationship of the OWN versions of Gr. 34 ^{to one another} see Britta Olrik
 Frederiksen, Bibl. Arn. 34, Opuscula 7 (1979), 62-93.

42. Cf. feginshönd

Flat. I, 213/4-6, Olafs saga Tryggvasonar, "Þáttur þorleifs
 jarlaskálds":

...þa letti hann ægi sinne ferd fyrr en hann kom a
 fund Sueins konungs. ok tok hann vit honum fegins
hende ...

Ibid., 257/7-8, "Þáttur Þorsteins uxafóts"

...for hann þa enn til Styrkars a Grimsar ok tok
hann vid honum fegins hendi...

Þórðar s. hreðu, lv. 10, Skjð B II, 485

... er Qzúr vágum
 afrendr feginshendi.

hjálparhöndStjórn 252/13-15:

cf. Ex. 2:10:

...ok þann sama suein gerði hon ...Quem illa adoptavit in
 ser at oskberni. ok kalladi locum filii, vocavitque nomen
 hann fyrir þann skyld Moysen. eius Moyses, dicens: Quia de
at hun hafði hann af uatni aqua tuli eum.
medr hialparhendi tekit...

Pétursdrápa, st. 6, Skjð B II, 546:

...
 ond meó hjálpar hendi
 heilagr stjörnu deilir
 seði...

graftrar höndJóns s. post. IV, Post.
469/2-4:cf. Grässe ed., Legenda Aurea,
272/3-4:

...Hverr mundi þora, heilagr
 faðir, at leggja honum
graftrar hönd meðr orskurðar
 ogn, er hann diktaði
 sialfr...

...Cui ille: nonne, domine,
 nosti, quia ille omnes, qui
eum sepelirent, anathematis-
 avit.

hefndarhöndStjórn, 381/25-26:

Judges 2:15:

...hvert sem þeir villdo
 fara eða flyia. þa var
 æ yfir þeim hefndar hönd
drottins fyrir þeirra
 illgerðir.

...sed quocumque pergere
 voluissent, manus Domini
 super eos erat...

Ibid., 439/34-440/1:

I Sam. 7:13:

...þvi at jafnan var drottins
hæfnðarhönd yfir Philisteis
 ...meðan Samuel lifði.

...facta est itaque manus
Domini super Philisthaeos,
 cunctis diebus Samuelis.

Ibid., 448/36-449/2:

Enn ef þer hægrið æigi ródd
drottins...þa man hans hæfndar-
hönd koma yfir yör sem yöra
fyrri frendr.

I Sam. 12:15:

si autem non audieritis vocem
Domini, sed exasperavitis
sermone eius, erit manus
Domini super vos, et super
patres vestros.

hernaðarhönd

Michaels s., HMS I, 678/13-15:

...Sva for Sathan or sæmdarhæð, sem hann villði gripa guðlíkt
vallð með hernaðar hendi...

Thóm. II, I. 320/29-322/1:

...Liggr svá erkistólinn undir hernaðar
hendi allan tíma, meðan heilagur Thómas er
í útlejó.

jafnaðarhönd

DN VII, 104/21-23 (p.123), "De decimis Grønlandensium
mercatorum," Nidaros, 5 Aug., 1325:

...Þakkum ver yder þo mykilegha at þer letor hælðer
tiundena undir jafnadar hönd læggia en meðer bradare
alaupum varar kirkiu reet oc hæfð under yder gripa...

líknarhönd

Thóm. II, 508/16-18:

...leysir margan mann af sínum misfellum, ok huggar
þá með mjúkri líknarhönd, er áðr váro haldnir fyrir
hörmulig syndabönd...

Rósa (fm I, 8), st. 9 (see Schottmann, Die isländische
Mariendichtung, 134):

Huorcki kendi ord nie andi
verssa smíð áá dicktann þessa
Nema vislegan gloggleicks <ge>is<la>
gleri biarttare mier j hiartta
sannr almatturenn solaR drottinn
sendi fram af líknar hendj.

"Agæt vil eg þér óðinn fara" (fM II, 73), st.6
leys þu os með liknar hendi
lofsæl jungfru Maria.

ránshönd

Fms. V, 55/25-28, Óláfs s. helga (AM 61 fol.):
...ef vèr föllum í orrostu, þá er þat vel ráðit,
at fara þangat eigi með ránshendi, en ef vèr
sigrumst, þá skulu ver vera arftökumenn þeirra,
er berjast í móti oss.

(All the other mss. used by O.A. Johnsen and Jón Helgason .
[Den store saga... I, 542/1-2; cf. Snorri, Heimskringla II,
ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson, fF 27, 357/15-16] have "...þa
er því vel ráðit at fara eigi þangat með ransfe...")

<u>Ísl. Æv.</u> XV, 7-9:	cf. Vincent of Beauvais, <u>Spec.</u> <u>Hist.</u> , Lib. XXV, cap.22:
...jafnvel alltaris offrit	...Oblationes accedentium vix dum
sem önnur kirkjufè gripu	appositæ de manibus <u>arripiabantur</u> .
þeir ok <u>stálu með ranshendi</u>	Arreptæ in commessiones et
ok báru út í sukk ok	scortorum abusiones consumabantur.
saurlífi.	

vígsluhönd

Laurentius s. biskups, k. 47, BS I, 850/17-22:

Um vetrinn fyrir langaföstu sendi herra Laurentius bróður
Árna, son sinn, suór í Skálholt til herra Jóns biskups,
biðjandi hann at hann vígði hann öllum vígslum og til
prests... Sýndist herra Laurentio biskupi þat fegra, at
faðir legði eigi vígsluhendr yfir son sinn holdligan...

<u>Thóm. I</u> , 43/6-7:	I Tim. 5:22 (see Kirby I, 384), <u>Quadrilogus</u> , cit. <u>Thóm. I</u> , 43/29-30:
<u>Lægg ængum skiott vígsluhendr</u>	Manus cito nemini imposueris, ne
<u>i hofuð</u> , at æige samneyter	communices peccatis aliensis.
þu synóum þeirra.	

cf. Thóm. II, I. 110/18-19:

Legg eingum manni vígsluhönd án forsjó at eigi samlagist þú
syndum hans.

43. Cf. too some OE examples:CP 105/16-19:

...Ond s'æ suæ ðara monna
 honda & fet wæren aðwægene
 on ðære ealdan æ on ðæm ceake
 beforan ðæm temple, sua
 ðonne nu we aðwean ures modes
honda & ure weorc mid ðære
 ondetnesse.

cf. Reg. Past. Lib., II, cap. 5,
PL 77, 34A:

...ut quisquis intrare æternitatis
 januam nititur, tentationes suas
 menti pastoris indicet, et quasi
 in boum lutere cogitationis vel
operis manus lavet.

Ibid., 467/25-26:

... & arær me mid ðære
honda ðinra geearnunga...

Ibid., IV, PL 77, 128A:

...tui meriti manus me
 levet.

GD 150/24-25:

...seo hand þinre spræce...
 cf. HMS I, 216/8, Melsca
þin

Moricca, 114/1:

Manus tuæ locutionis...

Ælfric, CH I. 212/15

...mid strangre handa his mildheortnysse...

Poenitentiale Theodori...,
 ed. F.J. Mone, Quellen und
Forschungen zur Geschichte
der deutschen Lit. u.
Sprache (Aachen/Leipzig,
 1830), 523:

Gyf holinga hwylc man mid
unclænnysse handa his mete
 oð hrineð ... ne sceðeð
 him þæt.

cf. Paenitentiale Bigotianum,
 ed. L. Bieler, The Irish
Penitentials, Scriptores Latini
Hiberniae V (Dublin, 1975),
 "De Remediis Vitiorum", 5.8,
 216/22-24:

...si cassu quis immunda manu
 cibum tangit ... non nocet.

44. Cf., e.g., Distinctiones Monasticae, cit. Pitra, Spic. Sol. II, 265:

...Pes significat humilitatem; unde in veste pontificis
in lege veteri erant et tintinnabula et malogranata
circa pedes, ut tam in prædicatione quam in operatione
servetur humilitas...

and Ibid., II, 264 (on Matt. 10:14, "Excute pulverem de pedibus
vestris"): "...Pedibus namque fere semper adhæret pulvis: et
pedibus superbiæ, semper pulvis inanis gloriæ..."

With lītillætisfótr cf. esp. the compound [lītīl]lates stetr
found for humilitatis gradus in the ON version of the Benedictine
Rule (NRA 81 A 1r, 3, ed. E. Walter, "Die Fragmente zweier Kloster-
regeln für Benediktinermönche in altnorwegischer Übersetzung,"
Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache 82 [1960], 94 and
102 n.3).

45. On this text see esp. D.A. Seip, MM (1943), 104-136; Nordisk Tidskrift
N.S.19 (1943), 313-324. Ernst Walter has expressed his doubts as to
whether kosta-fótr can be regarded as a simple loan-translation of
virtutum gradus here (Lex. Lehn., 44), but it is difficult to share
his scruples:

Mit vielleicht einer Ausnahme gibt es kein kosta(r)-
kompositum, in dem die Bedeutung, "Tugend" enthalten
ist. Ob man nämlich das singuläre kosta-fótr als
Lehnübersetzung von virtutum gradus betrachten darf,
hängt davon ab, ob es sich um ein Kompositum handelt
oder nicht; ich halte den einheitlichen Begriff
"Tugendschritte" für wahrscheinlicher als "Schritte
der Tugend"...

46. See Kirby, Biblical Quotation, I, 304. Christ's reference at John
13:18 is to Ps. 40:10, "Qui edebat panes meos, magnificavit super
me subplantationem". None of the extant OWN translations of this

- verse make use of the figure of the "foot of pride". Cf. Post., 518/16-17, 528/15-16, 582/4-5 (cit. Kirby, Biblical Quotation, I, 46), Heiko Uecker, ed. Der Wiener Psalter, Ed. Arn. B 27 (Kbh., 1980), 43. The metaphor derives ultimately from Ps. 35:12, "Non veniat mihi pes superbiae."
47. The pes superbiae metaphor is not retained in the abbreviated versions of this passage in Jóns s.p. II (Post. 454/22-23) and Jóns s.p. III (Post. 465/20-21).
48. For the story of the vision of the Emperor Theodosius I prior to his battle against Eugenius and Arbogastes see, e.g., Theodoretus, Hist. Eccl., ed. L. Parmentier (Lipsiæ, 1911), V, 24, 325/2-21; Cassiodorus, Historia Tripartita, IX, 45 (PL 69, 1161C); Vincent of Beauvais, Spec. Hist., XVII, 106; Tubach, Index Exemplorum 4773; J.A. Herbert, Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, III (London, 1910), 181 * 33, 518 * 137.
49. Hallberg, "Jóns saga helga", Afmælisrit Jóns Helgasonar (Rvk., 1969), 76. See generally s.a., Stilsignalement och författarskap i norrön sagalitteratur. Synpunkter och exempel. Nordistica Gothoburgensia 3 (1968). For criticisms of Hallberg's method of statistical analysis see H.A. Roe, Scandinavian Studies 42 (1970), 76-80; Frederico Albano Leoni, "Sagas islandaises et statistique linguistique. Quelques observations," ANF 85 (1970), 138-162; Jónas Kristjánsson, Um Fóstbræðrasögu (1972), 305-307. For biographical information about Bergr Sökkason (such as there is) see esp. Einar Hafliðason's Laurentius saga Hólabiskups, Bisk. I, 832, 840, 850, 891, 898; Christine Fell, "Bergr Sökkason's Michaels saga and its sources", SBVS XVI (1962-65), 354-71.

50. Stilsignalement..., p.150. Hallberg's suggestion (Ibid., 150) that Bergur may have worked from his own transcript of Thóm. I into which he had "...infört vissa av sina egna språkegenheter - dem som vi nu möter i codex nr 17 4to" (i.e., the principal ms. of Thóm. I, perg. 17 4to, Kungl. Biblioteket, Stockholm) was dismissed by Stefán Karlsson in a letter to Hallberg (cit. Stilsignalement ..., 151) in which he points out that this ms. is "að öllum líkindum réttlíga tímasett til loka 13. aldar eða um 1300, og fyrir þann tíma hefur Bergur varla verið farinn að skrifa". (On the dating of Thóm. I see, e.g., P.G. Foote, SBVS XV [1957-61], 403 and n.1, "...the translation probably belongs to the second half of the thirteenth century"; cf. H. Bekker-Nielsen, KLNM XVIII, 250.) Hallberg seems to concede the point (Stilsignalement ..., 151):

... Beröringspunktarna mellan de båda texterna borde i stället tolkas så, att Thomas I varit ett av de verk som påverkat stilen hos skribenten i Thomas II. Om detta kan anses räcka som förklaring på de anmärkingsvärda likheter jag påvisat, skulle förstås min speciella hypotes om Bergs manipulation med Thomas I vara överflödig.

51. Ian Kirby suggests that the translation of Pseudo-Mellitus in Tvegg. p.s. JJ is independent of that found in the versions of Jóns s.p.. See Biblical Quotation II, 31, n. 20, and 165 Lk. 16:19-21.
52. See HMS I, 713/5-8; HMS II, 49/14-22.
53. "Jóns saga helga", 76.
54. Fritzner, for instance, records many compounds which could be compared with drambsemisandi, some, to be sure, from works claimed for Bergur by Hallberg, but several from other texts as well (here marked

with an asterisk):

blekkingarandi Nik.II, HMS II. 105/30

freistanarandi Thóm. II, I. 47[~]/16

- (*) grimmdarandi Stjórn 288/37 (Ex. 15:8, spiritus furoris. This first section of Stjórn contains references to Nikolaus saga. Selma Jónsdóttir, Illuminations in a Manuscript of Stjórn [Rvk., 1971], 65-71, examines parallel passages in Nik. II and suggests that Bergr Sokkason may also be "connected in some way" with this text.)

* guðlastanarandi VP, HMS II. 559/4 (spiritus blasphemiae, Ibid., 559/28)

harðýðgisandi Nik.II, HMS II. 155/17

* hóranarandi VP, HMS II. 497/13 (spiritus fornicationis 497/31)

metnaðarandi Clári s. 66/4

* ofbeldisandi "Erkibiskop Jóns Statut" (1280), NGL III 238/28
ranglætisandi Marfu s. 423/3

* reiðandi VP, HMS II. 585/8 (spiritus iracundia, Ibid., 585/26)

* saurganarandi VP, HMS II. 496/13 (spiritus fornicationis, Ibid., 496/32-33)

* sundrþykkisandi Stjórn (Judges 9:23, spiritus pessimus)

* uhreinsanarandi VP, HMS II 499/11 (dæmon fornicationis, Ibid., 499/24)

Ibid., 503/5 (spiritus fornicationis,

Ibid., 502/35-36)

Ibid., 503/8 (passio fornicationis,

Ibid., 502/38)

Ibid., 507/4 (passio fornicationis,

Ibid., 507/23-24)

ofundarandi Marfu s. 1123/31

55. See, e.g., H. Bekker-Nielsen, T. Damsgaard Olsen, O. Widding, Norrøn Fortællekunst, 120; E.F. Halvorsen, "Lærd og folkelig stil: Island og Norge", KLNM XI, 122. It is perhaps worth noting that the word drambsemi is not found in earlier OWN prose and would appear to be a fairly late coinage. Fritzner's earliest example is from Alexanders saga (attributed to Brandr Jónsson, [†]1264), ed. Finnur Jónsson (Kbh.,

1925), 145/17. Ernst Walter suggests that the word dramb and its cognates, although well attested in the early prose were, unlike the native ofmetnaðr, almost always associated with Kirchensprache (Lex. Lehn., 99-100):

...Wir stehen... vor der sonderbaren situation,
dass das Wort dramb seiner Erscheinung nach
geradezu volkstümlich wirkt, aber zuerst fast
nur in "gelehrter" Prosa erscheint...

56. Gunnes (177-178) refers to Sedulius' Opus paschale (PL 19, 723ff.), Jonas of Orléans' De Cultu Imaginum II (PL 106, 343ff.), Augustine's sermo 53 (PL 38, 371), and Honorius' Speculum Ecclesiae. Only Honorius provides even a vague analogue for the passage cited (PL 172, 946A):

...Latitudo crucis illæ duæ partes accipiuntur
per quas manus distenduntur. Per hanc latitudinem
gemina dilectio intellegitur quæ amicos in Deo et
inimicos propter Deum utrinque complectitur...

57. Cf., e.g., Petrus Chrysologus, sermo 108, PL 52, 499C:

...Expandi manus meas. Ad quem? Ad populum.
Et ad quem populum? Non tantum non credentem,
sed contradicentem. Expandi manus meas. Distendit
membra, dilatat viscera, pectus porrigit, offert
sinum, gremium pandit, ut patrem se tantæ
obsecrationis demonstret affectu...

Ps. Haymo of Halberstadt, In Is., PL 116, 1065C-D:

...Expandi manus meas tota die pendens in cruce,
ad populum incredulum ... ut eos reciperem et
collocarem in sinu meo, sed ipsi semper increduli
et contradictores exstiterunt...

Herveus Burgidolensis, In Is., PL 181, 568D-569A:

... in eo quod ait: Expandi manus meas, crucis
patibulum intellexerimus ... Significant expansæ
manus et parentis clementiam suos filios in sinu
recipere gestientis ...

Cf. too Dreves-Blume, Analecta Hymnica, vol. IX, 27, "De sancta Cruce"
(eleventh century), st. 5 b:

In ligno
transverso sacri patibuli
docemur
expansis manibus
crucifixi

dextros et sinistros
amplecti.

Anselm, Meditationes, X, "De Passione Christi", PL 158, 762A:

... Dulcis in extensione brachiorum: extendens
enim brachia nobis insinuat quod amplexus nostros
ipse desiderat, et quasi dicere videtur ...
venite, et reficimini inter brachia mea, inter
amplexus meos: videte quia paratus sum intra
brachia mea congregare vos...

58. E. Schwyzer ("Der Götter Knie-Abrahams Schoss. sprach- und kultur-
geschichtlicher Ausblick", Antidoron. Festschrift Jacob Wackernagel
[Göttingen, 1923], 292-293) points out that the bosom (or, more
precisely, the lap) is regarded as a symbol of refuge, protection
and fosterage in many cultures (cf., e.g., the medieval Scandinavian
adoption ritual of "knee-setting" [Vilhelm Grönbech, The Culture of
the Teutons (London/Copenhagen, 1931), I, 304-307; Lizzie Carlsson,
"Rättssymbolik", KLNM XIV, 603 (Ättledning, skötsatu barn), and
refs.; K.Å. Modéer, "Ättleing: Sverige", KLNM XX, 610]; and Gen.
48:10-12, 50:25, Ruth 4:16). The Christian "bosom metaphor" has
classical antecedents (cf. Thes. Ling. Lat., s.v. 2. Gremium, I. A.
2. a, "de eis, qui personas et cura egentes recipiunt [persaepe
tropice de ipso auxilio, curatione, educatione]"; Oxford Latin
Dictionary, s.v. sinus, 3. fig., ... patriae, pacis, philosophiae
...); but for Christian authors the natural appeal of this sort of
figure must have been enhanced by an association with the image of
the souls of the righteous resting in "Abraham's bosom" (Luke 16:22-23;
sinus Abrahae is regularly translated faömr Abrahams in OWN; see
Kirby, Biblical Quotation I. 262-264). Cf., e.g. Petrus Chrysologus,
sermo 108, PL 52, 280A, "Abraham ... pias animas ... in gremio suæ
consolationis includit." See generally J.A. MacCulloch, The Harrowing

of Hell (1930), ch. xvi, esp. 278ff.

For the phrase sinus misericordiae see, e.g., Anselm, Meditationes, II (PL 158, 725A-B), "Si me admiseris intra latissimum tuæ misericordiæ sinum ..." (cf. Ibid., XX [813 A], "...si me miseri-
cordiæ tuæ brachiis amplecteris ..."), and the examples cited below, n.62. Pflieger (p.638), cites a late example from the Missale Romanum, 18. Jul. Festa S. Camilli de Lellis. Postcommunio, "... ut ... culpis omnibus expiati, in sinum misericordiae tuæ laeti suscipi mereamur ..."

For the interesting (though probably erroneous) suggestion that German barmherzig, erbarmen, and their cognates originated through an association by folk-etymology with barm, "breast", see Grimm, DW, s.v. barmen 4 (cf. erbarmen, pref.):

...wie das transitive barmôn in gremium suscipere, fovere hiesz, würde ein intransitives barmên sinu commoveri, innerst erregt, bewegt sein, $\sigma\pi\lambda\alpha\chi\chi\upsilon\iota\varsigma$ - $\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ aussagen und diese sinnliche deutung von barmen, erbarmen, barmherzig aus barm der oben gewagten von arm miser aus arm brachium zu statten kommen. der unglückliche wird vom mitleidenden in den arm oder auf den schosz, an die brust genommen. beidemal entfaltete sich die abstraction misereri, hinter den abgezogenen wörtern läge schön ein sinnlicher grund. ein gangbarer altn. ausdruck für misereri lautet kenna i briosti, in der brust fühlen, und briostgôdr ist misericors, briostlaus ferox, unerbarmend...

(Contrast, e.g., Falk-Torp [1903], s.v. Barmhjertig, "... Første led er, som got. armahairts "barmhjertig" udviser, en sammensætning af partikelen bi + arm [adj.] ..."; F. Kluge, Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung VIII [1906], 29; Kluge-Mitzka [19. Aufl., 1963], s.vv. barmherzig, erbarmen [cf. Walter's note, Lex.Lehn., 119, n.1];

W. Betz, Deutsch und Lateinisch, 73; Thors 593-594.) All of Grimm's examples of the association of brjóst with misericordia are, in fact, from Modern Icelandic (cf. Blöndal, s.vv. brjóst 4 b, brjóstgóður, brjóstlauss; Jón Þorkelsson, Supplement til Islandske Ordbøger (1876) 54, s.v. brjóstgóður, (1890-94) I, 120, s.v. brjóstgœði). The word brjóstgœði occurs once in OWN in an alliterative catalogue in Sthom. (part of a commentary on Luke 2:14) for which no source has yet been identified (137/19-24, "Die annunciationis beate Marie...", "...þeir ero en með góðom vilia. es ... hafa biNdande oc brióstgeópe ..."; cf. Fritzner's definition, "veltænkende, velvilligt Sindelag"); and the adjective góðbrjóstaðr is found as a variant for armvitigr in seventeenth-century mss. of Reykðæla saga ok Víga-skútu (see ÍF 10 [1940], 231/22; Íslendinga Sögur, udg. af det kongelige danske oldskriftselskab [Kbh., 1830], II, 308, n.1). In fact, only one of the brjóst- compounds referred to by Fritzner seems to have anything to do with the virtue of mercy - the word brjóstlíftill (which Fritzner takes to mean "lidet barmhjertig") found at Maríu saga 462/6-7:

" ... oss virðiz miklv betra at reknaz miðil briostlitilla byskvpa en retra leigvmanna."

59. The other OWN versions of Gr. 34 in Ev. (Sthom. 88/27 - 92/32, Nhom. 136/30 - 140/35, Leifar 165/5 - 166/5) do not extend as far as this passage. On the use of the words miskunn and mildi to render misericordia see Walter, Lex. Lehn., 118-123.
60. Finnur Jónsson (Den oldnorske og oldislandske litteraturs historie, 2. udg., [Kbh., 1920-23] II, I. B, 120-121) notes further examples of verbal correspondence between the poem and the sermon. As Fredrik Paasche remarks, however (Kristendom og Kvad 3.3, in Hedenskap og Kristendom [Oslo, 1948], 164), the points of resemblance between

the two texts are too few and too general to suggest that this sermon need have been the source for this section of the poem.

Cf. also Lilja, st. 55 (Skjð B II, 405):

...

leiddr af móður [Bergsbók: a krossín - Skjð AII, 38ln] faðminn breidd
breiddr á krossinn guman græddi,
græddi hann oss, er helstrið mæddi.

61. Cf. Jóns s. helga A, Bisk. I. 152/33-35: "Egill fór til hirðar hins helga Ólafs konungs ok var vel virðr, sem allir aðrir virðuligir menn, þeir sem héðan kómu at."
62. On the use of the figure sinus misericordiae in Marian literature see Anselm Salzer, Die Sinnbilder und Beiwörter Mariens (Linz, 1893), 554ff., and, e.g., Anselm, Oratio LXI, Rhythmus ad Sanctam Virginem... (PL 158, 965), "Ad te suspiro domina / Meas accepta lacrymas, / Sinum misericordiae / Dignare mihi pandere"; Bernard of Clairvaux, "Dominica infra Octavam Assumptionis B.V. Mariae sermo" (PL 183, 430 D), "Omnibus misericordiae sinum aperit, ut de plenitudine eius accipiant universi ..."
63. See too Thóm. II, I, 80/3, faðmr heilagrar kirkju; DN I. 196/6-7 [1328], miskunnarskaut heilaghrar kirkiu. Cf. Manz 397 gremium (matris) ecclesiae, 922 sinus (matris) ecclesiae; Blaise, s.vv. gremium 3. - ecclesiae, sinus 3. - ecclesiae; Niermeyer, s.v. gremium 2. - ecclesiae, 3. = nave of a church; Thes. Ling. Lat., s.v. 2 gremium I. B, "de ecclesia".

Astrid Salvesen (Studies ..., 57) notes that the phrase himneskt sæti is used in the OWN Elucidarium to render the "more baroque" Latin metaphor, caeleste gremium (cf. Jón Helgason, ed., Manuscripta Islandica 5, 13r/18-20, Hauksbók 491/26; Yves Lefèvre, ed., L'Elucidarium et les Lucidaires, 403/7-8).